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Further Reportage on Joint Nuclear Test

LD1409231088 Moscow TASS in English 2230 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—Two flags, Soviet and U.S., are flying for the first time in 40 years over the Soviet nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan.

The Soviet Union and the United States completed on Wednesday a unique joint experiment there to improve methods of monitoring nuclear explosions, Soviet television reported from the test site.

The American delegation, working together with Soviet scientists and military men, includes 46 experts.

Exactly at 8:00 a.m. Moscow time the earth at the site shook sharply under the feet like during a powerful earthquake.

The nuclear device, located in rocks at a depth of 642 metres, was detonated in a peaceful explosion.

The parameters of the explosion were recorded by Soviet and U.S. highly sensitive instruments.

"If everything depended on engineers, scientists and technicians who prepared the experiment, it would take much less time to achieve an agreement and curtail, and ultimately cease, nuclear testing," Lieutenant General Arkadiy Ilyenko, chief of the Soviet nuclear test site, told Soviet television.

"That would be the solution of the programme, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev, for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

"Things now will depend on diplomats and politicians who will use the data of our experiment,"he said.

IZVESTIYA on Experiment

PM1409155788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent B. Ivanov: "On the Eve of Explosion"]

[Text] Semipalatinsk—The Soviet nuclear testing range near Semipalatinsk... We Soviet journalists and correspondents from the United States, France, the PRC, the GDR, and other countries are to be present during a joint Soviet-U.S. experiment and witness a nuclear explosion which may eventually help to ensure that nuclear tests are stopped completely.

A few words of historical background: In 1974 the United States and the USSR concluded the treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and in 1976 the treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. These are so-called "threshold" treaties because they permit a threshold of 150 kilotons for nuclear explosions. But to this day they have not entered into force, mainly because the U.S. side considers the verification measures envisaged in them to be inadequate.

That is why, briefly, the aim of the present Soviet-U.S. experiment is to reveal in practice the most effective verification measures—so that they can be used later to monitor the above-mentioned treaties. In the Soviet side's opinion, the teleseismic method is sufficiently effective and reliable. I recall that it is based on the recording of the amplitude of the topsoil's elastic vibrations at a distance of 3,000-10,000 km from the site of the explosion.

The United States insists on the so-called hydrodynamic method known as Corrtex. It is based on recording the position of the front of the powerful shock wave that spreads in the topsoil. In contrast to the teleseismic method, this method stipulates the compulsory taking of measurements directly at the site of the test. It is far more expensive and is in need of additional preparation.

Agreement in principle on holding the experiment was reached during the Soviet-U.S. summit talks.

Two explosions—at U.S. and Soviet nuclear testing grounds—are being held within the framework of the experiment. Their yield should not exceed 150 kilotons but must not be less than 100 kilotons. For the teleseismic measurements each side uses its own national seismic stations. The hydrodynamic measurements will be carried out by groups of Soviet and U.S. specialists directly at the testing grounds.

Part of the experiment has already been conducted. The first explosion thundered in Nevada on 17 August. Now it is the turn of the testing ground near Semipalatinsk.

A group of U.S. specialists has been working since April at the Soviet nuclear testing ground. They have drilled two holes—a main hole and a subsidiary one—650 meters deep, where they have installed special sensing devices and other apparatus necessary for the Corrtex method.

Soviet-U.S. official representatives taking part in the experiment have arrived at the testing ground region. I.M. Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation at the Geneva full-scale talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests, and his U.S. counterpart, Paul Robinson, head of the U.S. delegation at the same talks, met with journalists.

"I want to stress in particular," I.M. Palenykh said, "that the main aim of our talks is not simply to limit the holding of nuclear tests but ultimately to achieve their complete cessation. The present experiment is an important step in this direction. On the basis of an analysis of the data obtained after the Nevada test and explosion, which will be carried out here on 14 September, we will determine the most perfect methods of verification in order to apply them later to the 1974 and 1976 treaties.

I think that as a result, a protocol on methods of verifying the yield of nuclear explosions could be prepared and submitted for joint signing. That in turn will open the path to the ratification of the above-mentioned treaties...."

In P. Robinson's opinion the holding of the Soviet-U.S. experiment and the joint work by the two countries' specialists, in addition to purely scientific results, also promotes the creation of an absolutely new level of trust between people and between states. "I am an optimist," the U.S. representative said. "I believe that none of those taking part in this program a year ago could have imagined that this was possible. Such events bring us closer. I think this will help further progress at our talks."

Commentary Criticizes New Warhead Development
LD1409223288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 14 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Excerpts] Today, as many of you obviously know from the news bulletins, a nuclear explosion was conducted with the participation of U.S. scientists and specialists at a test site in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk. Recently a roughly similar test, which was attended by Soviet specialists, was carried out in the state of Nevada. The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency notes, in connection with this, the successful progress of that experiment.

However, unfortunately, today—as, incidentally, on previous days—there have been many reports of a different kind, showing that the forces of the opponents of any strengthening of international security and detente are also working vigorously. The Western mass media, for example, are full of various reports that the United States has started to develop a new kind of nuclear missile with so-called penetrating warheads. [passage omitted]

I shall ask my colleague Boris Andrianov to express his opinion on the subject:

[Andrianov] Nuclear missiles with penetrating warheads are undoubtedly offensive weapons. After all, they are intended to destroy the enemy's underground infrastructure, that is, the command posts, concealed communications links, and other installations, in order to make him incapable of organizing retaliatory action and reacting appropriately to a nuclear attack. So the U.S. development of missiles with penetrating warheads heralds the start of a new twist in the offensive arms race. This is strange, since the world had expected a breakthrough in disarmament following the recent series of summit meetings and the signing of the INF Treaty. [passage omitted] Nevertheless, it is still, apparently, premature to talk of any radical or sudden change in world politics. It is equally premature to think that the incipient reduction in the arms race has assumed an irreversible character.

You may ask: Why? For the simple reason that it is naive to think that the disarmament process faces unclouded prospects ahead. Far from it! Nothing has, as yet, affected the foundations of the global system of military confrontation that has always obstructed both military and political detente. Moreover, this gigantic and ossified system is highly resilient and it continues to operate, exerting its negative influence on the positive tendencies in international development. [passage omitted]

The whole world is impatiently waiting for the Soviet Union and the United States to take the next step along the path of nuclear missile disarmament and to conclude a treaty providing for a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons. And just at this precise moment, the leader of the Pentagon gives the order to start developing nuclear missiles with penetrating warheads, which it is hard to interpret as anything other than reluctance by the United States to move toward the reduction of nuclear weapons.

So what conclusion is to be drawn? Will militarism really be able once again to impede the positive process that is under way? If one takes account of the real state of affairs, then it would, I suggest, be a dangerous illusion to consider that such a turn of events is totally excluded.

GDR Official Opens Pact Parliamentary Meeting

LD1409163888 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin September 14 TASS—A meeting of the heads of parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member states started here today. Its participants will exchange the experience of cooperation of parliaments and will discuss the role to be played by those bodies made up of people's representatives in a further development of socialist democracy.

The meeting was opened by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber.

Session on CEMA Economies Ends in Ulaanbaatar

PM1309081588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS report: "To Deepen Integrative Processes"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 9 Sep—A session of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System Scientific Council, which ended in the Mongolian capital today, was devoted to questions of enhancing the efficiency of CEMA countries' economic systems. Over a period of 5 days scientists and representatives of the socialist countries' trade and economic departments discussed draft reports by the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System and its Czechoslovak branch. The reports examined the development prospects of CEMA countries' economic relations at the present stage and forecast the dynamics of CEMA's European member countries through the year 2000.

The participants in the discussion spoke in favor of deepening the integrative processes by creating a broad network of joint enterprises, achieving a transition from bilateral to multilateral ties, and forming a community common market. There was great interest in the idea put forward by Yu.S. Shiryayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, concerning the expediency of a future transition from joint enterprises to transnational cooperatives within the CEMA framework. In substantiation of this idea, he emphasized that transnational production activity does not entail restructuring of domestic state legislation or expropriation of shops, machine tools, or equipment from the state, nor does it come up against the difficult problems of reconciling legal and economic mechanisms in a newly created international production collective as happens in the case of setting up joint enterprises. Each member of a transnational cooperative does his part of the work, the end product is jointly owned, and this is a de facto creation of a common market in a given sector of the economy, something which CEMA countries so strongly desire.

Bloc Deputy Foreign Ministers Meet in Sofia

PM0709095488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A working meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the European socialist countries was held in Sofia. In the course of the meeting certain topical questions of peace and security in the context of East-West relations were discussed.

The following took part in the conference: J. Johanes, CSSR first deputy foreign minister; L. Gotsev, Bulgarian deputy foreign minister; L. Kovacs, Hungarian deputy foreign minister; K. Nier, GDR deputy foreign minister; J. Majewski, Polish deputy foreign minister; and A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister.

The participants in the meeting were received by P. Mladenov, member of the BPC Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian foreign minister.

Briefs

Socialist Seabed Mining Pact

The Supreme Soviet Presidium has ratified an agreement of a joint organization of the socialist countries, Interoceanmetal. The signatories—Bulgaria, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia—have pooled their efforts to prospect for and industrially develop iron and manganese deposits on the ocean floors and seabeds. Work is now underway to draft a program for research. [Text] [*LD0309021988 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 2 Sep 88 LD*]

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 14 Sep

Denies Swedish Bugging Claims

LD1409135988 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today denied Sweden's allegations that the Soviet Union has bugged the Swedish Embassy in Moscow.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was answering a query at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents.

He said: "Similar charges of having something to do with eavesdropping devices discovered in the Swedish Chancery in Moscow were made against the Soviet Union in 1986 as well.

"Both right after a protest note was presented then and in the following official reply to the note, the Soviet side has rejected the accusations as untenable.

"The claims being made by the Swedish side now do not contain anything new. We believe the answer to them was given two years ago."

The spokesman added that "we are surprised by another hunt for invisible submarines off Swedish shores accompanied by hints that the subs are Soviet".

He quoted the commander of the Baltic Fleet as saying that Soviet subs do not get any closer than 50 to 70 kilometers to the Swedish Coast.

"There are no Soviet subs off Swedish shores," Gerasimov stressed.

He pointed to Swedish claims that the drivers of Soviet trucks carrying transit cargoes through Sweden engage in activities incompatible with their status as another sign of the wave of suspicion towards the Soveit Union, which has been mounting in Sweden.

"These insinuations, too, have caused suprise in the Soviet Union," Gerasimov said.

Rejects Pakistani 'Fabrications'

LD1409140188 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—"According to the information obtained by the USSR, Afghan military aircraft did not violate Pakistan's air space", Gennadiy Gerasimov head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Center today.

He described as an obvious fabrication the report by the Pakistani Defence Ministry about an alleged dogfight between that country's airforce fighters and Afghan military aircraft.

The Pakistani side contends that two Afghan aircraft were supposedly shot down in that fight over Pakistani territory. "It will be recalled that six days before this they in Islamabad had also stated that an Afghan plane had been downed", Gerasimov went on. "However, so far efforts to find if any of its wreckage have produced no result".

The fabrications by the Pakistani side "play into the hands of only those who would like to get a pretext for violating Afghanistan's sovereignty", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

News Conference Roundup

LD1409163688 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—According to information available to the USSR, Afghan military planes did not violate the air space of Pakistan, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Centre today. He described as "sheer invention" Pakistan's Defense Ministry report alleging that a dogfight occurred on Monday between Pakistani Air Force fighters and Afghan military planes.

The inventions of the Pakistani side, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, "only play into the hands of those looking for a pretext to violate the sovereignty of Afghanistan."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the instruction issued by Frank Carlucci, U.S. defense secretary, to embark on the development of a new type of nuclear missiles with piercing warheads. He stressed that despite the statements by U.S. officials about their concern for preserving the strategic stability, these plans of the military department of the United States indicate that the USA is working to undermine that stability. "An attack weapon is being developed," Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman informed newsmen that Michel Chatelais, director of the Afro-Malagasy Department of the Ministry for External Relations of France, will be staying in Moscow from 14 to 18 September for consultations on African issues.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that a Soviet-British memorandum of understanding was signed in London on September 12, which is a follow-up on the framework memorandum signed last year by the heads of the foreign ministries of the two countries. The memorandum provides for practical cooperation in combatting illegal

traffic in narcotic and psychotropic substances as well as for exchanges of information and experts, and the carrying out of joint customs operations.

Questioned by a Swedish journalist about eaves-dropping devices allegedly discovered in the Swedish Embassy building in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov reminded that in 1986 the Soviet side rejected similar charges as groundless. He said that the current allegations of the Swedish side contain nothing new. "We believe that the answer to them was given two years ago," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He refuted the assertions of the Swedish side about the presence of Soviet submarines off the coast of Sweden as well as charges alleging that Soviet drivers carrying transit cargo through Sweden "engage in activities incompatible with their status."

Sakharov Comments on Arms Cuts, Ecology

LD1509084388 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—Academician Andrey Sakharov has said that effective 50-percent cuts in nuclear arms will mean covering not just half of the way to their complete abolition but the more important part of the road since this will have created a drastically new situation.

The scientist was speaking in an interview with NEW TIMES magazine and voicing his opinion on some of the issues discussed at the 38th Pugwash Conference at the Black Sea resort of Dagomys.

"The problem of verification concerning cruise missiles, which causes the greatest concern and boils down to ascertaining whether they carry a nuclear or a conventional warhead, can only be resolved by inspector groups directly on the sites," he said in the interview which has been published in the magazine's latest issue.

Sakharov made a point of drawing this conclusion to the attention of representatives of Western countries for most of the cruises are sited in their territories.

He thinks it useful unilaterally to cut the length of military service in the Soviet Union roughly by half. This will, according to him, improve conditions for resolving the problem of reducing conventional armaments in Europe and the world as a whole and have favorable effects on possibilities to develop productive dialogue on deep nuclear cuts.

Besides, this step will, Academician Sakharov said, have appreciable social and economic consequences inside the country for putting manpower resources to more rational uses, for students, and for making the situation in the army itself healthier.

As forests, the planet's lungs, are disappearing right before our eyes for economic, demographic, social and many other reasons, the scientist suggested at the Pugwash conference that all the nations contribute a fixed percentage of their national incomes towards a special fund to reward countries that do not conduct large-scale tree felling operations and, instead, work to restore their woods.

Apart from this, Academician Sakharov suggested studying the threat to the population stemming from the growing use of chemicals in modern life.

As far as the nuclear power industry is concerned, he is convinced that nuclear reactors may not be built on the surface and that the issue of building them underground should be decided separately in each particular case, depending on specific economic, social and other factors.

But he believes at the same time that mankind won't be able to do without nuclear power.

Answering a question from the NEW TIMES interviewer, he expressed the hope that politicians will heed the opinion of scientists and the public to a greater extent than is the case now.

Voss Receives European Parliament's Lord Plumb

PM1309103588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Expanding"]

[Text] The doors for broad cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament are open. This was said 7 September at a meeting between A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament. He arrived in Moscow the day before at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Welcoming the guest, A.E. Voss stressed that the first official visit by the European Parliament president to the USSR is an event which opens up prospects for regular diverse relations. Their development will be made easier as official relations between the EEC and CEMA have already been established. Lord Plumb, in his turn, assessed this as one of the most important events in Europe's political life in recent times.

He stated that he believes it a great honor to be visiting the Soviet Union, and also advocated broad cooperation between the European Parliament and the highest organs of Soviet state power.

Information was exchanged on the activity of both parliaments. At the guest's request he was told about the basic aspects of restructuring in our country, the reform of the Soviet political system, and the growth of the soviets' role in state life.

On behalf of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers Lord Plumb was invited to send a European Parliament delegation to the USSR on an official visit. The invitation was received with thanks.

G.A. Zhukov, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission, other officials, and also the people accompanying the European Parliament president on the trip, took part in the conversation.

The guest toured the Kremlin sights.

A luncheon in Lord Plumb's honor was given on behalf of the chairmen of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

International News Agency Meeting in Warsaw

LD1409164888 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw September 14 TASS—The managers of wire and press agencies of the socialist and several socialist-oriented developing countries began a three-day conference in the Polish capital today.

The conference, dealing with topical issues of developing business cooperation in the exchange of news and photo services, is being attended by representatives of 26 agencies from 17 countries and two international organisations.

Reports were made by the chairmen-coordinators TASS Director General Sergey Losev and chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY Valentin Falin.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, was present at the opening of the meeting.

'Distrust' Marks European Report on USSR

PM1409090188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Sep 88 p 7

[Observer Gennadiy Gerasimov "World on Tuesday" column: "The West Seeks an Answer"]

[Text] Our restructuring has set the West a problem: What will it be like? The so-called European Strategy Group, comprising academics from the NATO countries, was set up to formulate an answer.

Now the group has published a report, called: "The Gorbachev Challenge and European Security." Group chairman Uwe Naehrlich of the West German Science and Politics Foundation announced that in the next few weeks the group leaders will be "busy explaining the report's conclusions to leading West European governments." It follows on from this that the authors of the report are taking their conclusions very seriously: not as an economic exercise, but as an invitation to action. All the more reason for taking a look at them.

Unfortunately, the report is riddled with the old distrust of us and its main recommendation is that the speed of improvement of East-West relations, particularly in the "arms control" sphere, should be linked to our domestic restructuring. We must not sign a blank check, the authors believe, and "pledge our security" solely on the basis of the other side's words and good intentions. Words and intentions can change, but this will be harder to do if the projected changes in the USSR are actually carried out. Meanwhile, the report states, the slow pace of social and economic changes in our country contrasts with the calls for the "immediate and revolutionary transformation of the security system."

As for "pledging security," the authors are so obviously wrong that they call into question their own academic reputations. The U.S.-USSR Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles met the sides' security interests. The talks in this sphere that are already being conducted and the talks we are pressing for all presuppose the partners' equality and an approach to safeguarding security as a problem common to the sides. It is in talks that the fears, imaginary or valid, that are voiced by the authors of the report, can be dispelled.

But if they are going to wait for the end of restructuring, who is to say when or where? The authors are prepared to assist it, proposing a policy of "constructive collaboration," but in the report this gesture looks unconvincing because some very important problems are set aside. The report says: "Substantial arms control measures in East-West relations should only be embarked on at the final stage of the gradual changes that will bring tangible results in the political sphere, in the human rights sphere, and in trade and will change the character of relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

This is the familiar "linkage" method which has already torpedoed many fine ideas. Is it not better to try to make progress on all possible fronts, including the sphere the report quaintly calls "arms control," striving to mutually reduce these armaments and even destroy them?

As for the prospects of restructuring, the authors see certain changes for the better, but not for at least 5 years. It is harder to argue about forecasts. I would like to think that the authors are mistaken on this, too. However, this can be demonstrated not by arguments but by actions.

Meanwhile, as the leaves turn brown, the Western press is trying to explain to its slow-witted readers the strange events surrounding subscription to our newspapers and journals, which this year, for the first time, was initially declared unrestricted but was then "limited"... Our explanations about the paper shortage are totally incomprehensible, as is the very phenomenon of annual subscription. They subscribe to newspapers and journals

there simply by mail, without leaving home, choosing their own period—for example, 3 years or 5 years. For such commitment the grateful publishers give a big discount, as they do, indeed, for an annual or even 6-month subscription—it is cheaper to subscribe to journals than to buy issues as they come out. More readers mean more profit or more political influence. And supply meets demand. That is why it is so difficult to explain our "limits" to Western readers. If there is a demand for extra paper, which, judging by the announcement of unrestricted subscription in mid-year, was not anticipated, why not adjust supply? But where is the economic accountability? Is there a political intention, perhaps?—the West asks. "Ideological sabotage," whose roots are by no means outside? A blow to the restructuring of minds? These are the questions we are getting. And the search for "additional potential" last week, which released two newspapers and one modest newsprint weekly from the grip of the limits, merely convinced the skeptics that it is not just a question of paper...

So are we supposed to postpone disarmament just because our planned economy has not had a single new paper-making machine in the last 13 years?

The authors of the report under review want to turn the potholes in our restructuring into ditches in the disarmament sphere. While justly criticizing them, one should not forget about the foreign policy aspects of our potholes. Denying the crew of the nuclear icebreaker "Lenin" a subscription to OGONEK gives the report's authors a pretext for holding on to nuclear weapons in Europe. An absurd connection, but one that objectively arises.

Zagladin Interviewed on Relations, Minorities

AU1409195288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 88 p 10

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, by Peter Vajda: "National Minority Issues, General Lessons"; date and place not given—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Vadim Zagladin visited Hungary at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. Prior to his departure, he received our correspondent and answered his questions.

[Vajda] One can notice a clear trend of improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations. It seems, however, that the issue of disarmament in Europe and the issue of all-European cooperation has been somewhat lagging behind.

[Zagladin] Regarding the essence of the matter, the East-West dialogue began before the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. This happened on two occasions; first, in the sixties, when our relations developed with France and the FRG, and later, when genuine negotiations with the Americans came about. The order of events was similar on the second occasion, too. It is a fact that now things have turned out differently; namely, our contacts with the United States have developed more dynamically than the European processes have. We can do something about this without damaging our relations with the United States. Moreover, I think that our relations with the United States could also develop faster if the all-European process were to accelerate its pace. The conditions for an all-European dialogue are more favorable today than in previous years. Security is the first problem facing Europe, and economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation is the second issue. Improved conditions apply to both issues. Regarding arms reduction, conventional arms is currently the issue on the agenda, and, in this respect, Europe is an equal partner....

[Vajda] If we consider the history of the MBFR talks in Vienna, however, can we be optimistic?

[Zagladin] We must also take into consideration that, in the past, the Soviet side had also conducted these talks in the framework of the previous Soviet foreign policy concept. In many respects, this concept exaggerated the importance of the military and strategic aspects of security. To put it more simply, I can say that we have always discarded the possibility of a nuclear war and have always fought to ban nuclear arms; at the same time, however, we started from the premise that a war can be won. Consequently, the role of the military and the strategic aspect increased. Now that we have taken the clear position—both at our congress and in its aftermath—that it is impossible to win a nuclear war, and we have also drawn the logical consequences, it is clear that disarmament, rather than armament, is the real guarantee of security, and this is what we should do. The need for mutual compromises follows from all this. This does not rely on abstract confidence, and verification is needed on both sides. Consequently, our concepts concerning verification have also changed. Of course, we spoke about the differences in the structure of our armed forces in the past, too, but we did not recognize the real lack of balance to be found on both sides. Today, we not only recognize this lack of balance, but we are also ready to eliminate this asymmetry. This provides new bases for negotiations.

[Vajda] You have already mentioned some building blocks of the new strategic doctrine. However, many people in the West say that, so far, all these have only been words, without real changes. What is your opinion about this?

[Zagladin] It might seem to be a paradox, but those who claim this are right to a certain extent, at least in registering the facts. There is a new doctrine. It has been worked out, formulated, and published at the Warsaw Pact summit held in Berlin. Of course, practical activity is also underway to implement this new doctrine. This is

a defensive doctrine aimed at switching over to nonoffensive military activity. This, however, requires bilateral steps, and not only unilateral ones. If we, the members of the Warsaw Pact, decided unilaterally to change the nature of our armed forces into a defensive one as of tomorrow, to what would such a move lead? This would mean a unilateral disarmament. It would be similarly illogical to ask the same thing from the West. This is the reason why the structure and composition of our armed forces are not yet in line with our new doctrine, and are really not yet completely in harmony with this doctrine. There is need for a bilateral process to achieve this.

[Vajda] Speaking about the new Soviet political thinking, do the small and medium-size countries play a greater role in this?

[Zagladin] The approach is also different in this respect compared with the past. We did not deny the role played by smaller states in the past either. In practice, however, the main issue was our relations with the United States, or occasionally, our relations with other countries, like some European countries. Although we declared that we were conducting a global policy by taking into consideration the interests of all the countries, in practice, our policy became more limited. The change appears now in the current practice: Today, we are striving to develop our relations with every state, and we start from the premise that what counts is not their size but the quality of their policy and their contribution to the implementation of certain goals.

There can be small countries with considerable political weight. As I see it, smaller countries today have new opportunities for playing a greater role. This is so because world politics is no longer bipolar, that is, based on the two superpowers or on the two blocs, but it has indeed become a collective one.

[Vajda] Have you discussed Hungarian-Romanian relations during your talks, and how do you regard these relations?

[Zagladin] We are talking here about two socialist countries with problems between them. Their relations will also affect the socialist community and the European processes. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I follow with attention every manifestation of responsible socialist attitude in solving problems. Of course, these problems have a definite historical background. Regarding the nature of these problems and the approach to them, I could also mention the Soviet Union. Our own experience has convinced us that socialism in itself does not solve such problems. As for the purely national minority character of this problem, our principled position in this matter is well known and is in line with our common socialist principles. Our 19th CPSU Conference made a decision about the relations between national minorities. We stressed in this decision that the national minority issues, and everything related to them, should be solved on a socialist basis, on the basis of respect for every nation, small or big, and taking into consideration that every nation should have a right to development, its own culture, and its national dignity. We have repeatedly declared and formulated these principles by taking into consideration the new situation and new requirements that have emerged in our country.

We regard any similar phenomena as being in line with such basic principles. Of course, we are for a solution to controversial issues. I have had a lot of discussions here and, naturally, I heard different opinions. I would add here that this issue has just entered the stage of a real debate, after the recent summit held in Arad, because dialogue is preferable to confrontation in any conflict, even if such a dialogue is difficult to achieve. It seems to me that, in the course of such a dialogue, one should defeat the problem, rather than the partner, by finding a solution.

Several of my negotiating partners expressed their desire to solve this problem as soon as possible. This is quite understandable. I will again mention the Soviet experience because there are certain similarities here. There are national minority problems in several areas of our country, too. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh are the latest example. Problems emerged which, either people had been unwilling to solve earlier because they started from the premise that socialism had allegedly already settled the national minority issue a long time ago, or they tried to settle them by inadequate means. All these only lead to confrontation. We understand this and we clearly formulated it in the decision by the 19th CPSU Conference that a solution should be worked out in a democratic way, with political methods, and by taking into consideration every interest. In our view, this is the only right way, but this needs time. There is need for efforts and patience even in cases where there is no acute conflict, in order to settle the controversial issues. Therefore, I told my friends here, and I have many true friends here in Hungary, that I understand the need for urgency, but this is a situation which requires firmness, a clear mind, and patience on both sides, as well as the understanding that a solution should be found. In my view, there is no other way.

Ambassador Kashlev on Vienna Forum's Progress

PM1409145388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 3

["Topical Interview" with Ambassador Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation to the current Vienna CSCE followup talks, by special correspondent I. Belov, datelined Vienna, September: "On the Home Stretch"—first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] The pan-European meeting in Vienna is approaching its conclusion. For almost 2 years now (since 4 November 1986) this forum has been concurrently examining the entire range of relations among the 35 states attending the meeting—political, military,

trade and economic, scientific, technological, ecological, and humanitarian relations. The draft final document of the meeting has already been prepared, running to approximately 100 pages including appendices. TRUD's special correspondent talked with Ambassador Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation to the Vienna meeting.

[Belov] How would you appraise recent developments at the meeting?

[Kashlev] Considerable progress was achieved at the meeting over the last few weeks, primarily on humanitarian and military questions. It can be said that at least 90 percent of the final document's text has been agreed. It is typical that virtually the entire text of one of its key sections, the one concerning the principles of relations among states including the human rights question, has been successfully agreed. It also enshrines new accords in the cultural sphere (like mutual exchange of cultural centers by participating countries) and as regards the flow of information, education, and human contacts (including reunification of families, tourism, marriage between citizens of different countries, and so on).

One of the meeting's main achievements is the creation of a mechanism for regular bilateral contacts and consultations on the entire range of humanitarian questions among different participating states. Furthermore, it is planned to hold annual pan-European conferences on humanitarian problems.

And now about military questions. It is well known that these questions are being discussed at two forums in the Austrian capital—the pan-European forum and the talks among the 23 states belonging to the Warsaw Pact Organization and the NATO bloc. Agreement has been reached in principle that military talks should begin in the immediate future within the framework of the pan-European process along two avenues at the same time: talks on strengthening confidence-building measures and security in Europe (in continuation of the Stockholm Conference); and new talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, in which representatives of Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO countries will take part. There was success in agreeing on important elements of the terms of reference for the future talks: The objectives, participants, procedure, and organizational rules of the talks, verification and exchange of data, and the mandatory international nature of future agreements.

Compromise solutions are due to be reached in the next few weeks on some questions which are still outstanding. They include the question of what specific troops and arms will be the subject of reductions, the precise geographical zone to be covered by the talks, and their official name. The draft mandate includes an accord on the start of military talks before the end of this year. But the Vienna meeting must be concluded first, since the planned new military talks are a component of its decisions.

[Belov] What can be said about the Vienna discussions on the prospects for pan-European economic, scientific, and technical cooperation?

[Kashlev] Numerous accords have been reached also in these spheres, especially as regards cooperation on environmental protection. At the same time, we repeatedly came across remnants of the "cold war" and, I would say, the "technological war" which the United States and the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls continue to wage against us and our allies. So the discussion of the question of eliminating barriers to trade, scientific, and technical cooperation is progressing with great difficulty. Suffice it to say, for example, that the U.S. delegation, which incidentally is made up largely of Pentagon staffers, often takes a stand against the actual word "cooperation" appearing in a number of provisions. Some 10 important questions are outstanding as of today. They are due to be resolved in the coming weeks.

[Belov] In your view, what are the possible main results of the Vienna meeting?

[Kashlev] As a result of this pan-European meeting we can discern the outlines of a possible qualitative breakthrough in the humanitarian sphere and a transition from confrontation to civilized cooperation. This could be as important as the new disarmament talks. I believe that genuine disarmament is altogether unrealistic without the deepening of mutual trust. It was no accident that the 27th CPSU Congress described the humanitarian avenue, together with military-political and economic questions, as one of the main avenues of our foreign policy.

I would also like to briefly mention the measures proposed to follow the Vienna meeting. Their number and orientation are without precedent. There is discussion of the question of holding more than 10 pan-European meetings in the next 3-4 years—the aforementioned military talks, economic conferences in the FRG and Czechoslovakia, and an ecological forum with Switzerland and Bulgaria competing to host it. Many delegations back Italy's proposal to convene a scientific forum on its territory. There is a proposal to hold a conference of experts on cooperation in the Mediterranean, as well as several events on humanitarian problems—an information forum in Britain and a pan-European seminar on the preservation of the cultural heritage of our continent's peoples in Poland. The Soviet Union's proposal to hold a humanitarian forum in Moscow is also on the table.

As you can see, the pan-European plans for the future are vast. For the time being, however, it is necessary to successfully conclude the Vienna meeting and so give a powerful boost to the development of fruitful processes in Europe.

[Belov] One last question. What is the composition of the Soviet delegation in Vienna?

[Kashlev] The delegation consists of seven persons, each of whom is responsible for a specific avenue. Apart from them, active work is done by about 15 advisers and experts. There is a lot of work. There are times when there are 20 official sessions a week, in addition to dozens of unofficial meetings. In conclusion, let me note that we are aware of the extent of our responsibility for the outcome of the Vienna meeting and we will apply all our efforts for its successful conclusion.

United States & Canada

Dukakis Speaks on U.S.-USSR Ties in Chicago

PM1509075388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Election Speech"]

[Text] New York, 13 Sep—Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, the U.S. Democratic Party presidential contender, gave an election speech in Chicago wholly devoted to Soviet-U.S. relations. The future of our planet and whether we have one at all, he stressed, depends on these relations.

In his speech, which was received here as one of his foreign policy statements, Dukakis welcomed the progress made recently by the USSR and the United States in curbing the arms race. He admitted that the Reagan administration had made a definite contribution to this process, but he stressed that the initiative in arms reduction belonged to the Soviet Union. Dukakis expressed doubts as to whether his rival Republican George Bush—if he were elected—would be able to conduct talks with the USSR on an equal footing.

Advocating by and large an improvement in relations with the USSR, the Democratic presidential contender clearly indicated at the same time that his approach to these relations would be based on a position of strength policy. In particular, he intends to use economic levers to pressure the Soviet Union to make concessions in such spheres as arms control, the settlement of regional conflicts, and the resolution of humanitarian problems. We must retain our military strength, increase our economic might, and confirm our readiness to use it to protect our vital interests throughout the world, Dukakis stressed.

In the opinion of UPI, the Chicago speech was designed to demonstrate Dukakis' "determination and realism." He has vigorously expounded his stance recently on foreign policy and national security problems.

Further on Speech

LD1409153088 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] In the United States, the presidential candidate from the Democratic Party, Michael Dukakis, has made a speech in Chicago in which he considered Soviet-American relations. Mr Dukakis welcomed the progress made by the two countries in an effort to curb the arms race. He acknowledged that the Reagan administration has made a certain contribution to that process but added that the initiative in arms reduction came from the Soviet Union. Having on the whole come out in favor of better relations with the Soviet Union, Michael Dukakis made it clear that his approach to these relations relies on a policy of strength.

Moscow Paper Profiles Dan Quayle

PM1509073588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Sep 88 p 7

[Article by Aleksandr Chernov under the rubric "Presidential Race-88": "Ballyhoo Over a 'Running Mate'..."]

[Text] Not for nothing is the presidential campaign in the United States called a race. Two sweating teams—Republican and Democrat—are going full steam for the line, the order constantly changing as they strive for a lead of a mere length or a mere head. Victory, which promises honor, glory, and power, is a breath away. The finish is in November.

In this situation, as in a real athletic event, it is enormously important for each team not only to have a strong favorite, but also to choose the perfect running mate who can pull it through a difficult period. Both contenders for the presidency—Republican G. Bush and Democrat M. Dukakis—have chosen. Massachusetts State Governor Dukakis is sure that in his bid for the White House he cannot do without the help of Senator Lloyd Bentsen in the role of vice presidential candidate. Current U.S. Vice President Bush sees Senator Dan Quayle in this role and believes he will bring him success.

Dukakis' choice did not cause a flurry among political observers. It was all plain as day—Bentsen, who is on the right wing of the Democratic Party, is capable of giving the governor the votes of electors who were intimidated by Dukakis' "excessive" liberalism. As for Dan Quayle, Bush's choice had the effect of an exploding bomb. Thousands of articles, television commercials, and dozens of statements by political "figures" have mentioned the name of the 41-year-old Indiana senator in various ways. But why did Bush's running mate so alarm observers?

Perhaps no one personifies the successful American more than James Danforth Quayle III, the young scion of a dynasty of newspaper magnates from the state of Indiana with his Hollywood looks and heir to an fortune of some hundreds of millions of dollars. He is a graduate of DePaul University and Indiana State University law school.

Young, a splendid golfer (an eye on the youth vote here), telegenic, attractive (women go for him), an aristocrat from a good family (which warms the hearts of the traditionalists), and compared with the moderate conservatives he is distinguished by ultrarightist views (another plus, from the viewpoint of those unhappy with Bush's excessive softness). Quayle's name is ever-present in the pages of respectable analytical publications, and photographs of him are all over the less respectable but no less probing newspapers. What more could one want, you might think. The thing is that information about the senator is found in the columns of the scandal sheets.

Hardly had the Republican Party Convention ended when journalists accused the brand new vice presidential candidate of no less than desertion. As is known, it turns out that when he was in danger of being drafted into active service Quayle, a fervent supporter of the U.S. war in Vietnam, used his father's extensive connections—his pull, pure and simple—to get into the National Guard, which essentially ruled out any possibility of involvement in combat action.

The vigor with which newspapermen latched on to the sensation caused the Democrats to try to make capital out of the dubious story of Quayle's "combat past." M. Dukakis was now saying that the "people of America would go for the pair of candidates with clean reputations." Incidentally, there was then a hint that G. Bush himself was "not unblemished," because, as vice president, he must have known about the secret operations to supply weapons to Iran and the subsequent transfer of the money thus obtained to the Nicaraguan "contras." The story of Quayle's not being drafted into the Army has already produced its first results. Most of the people participating in the Vietnam veterans convention in Ohio, even those who supported Reagan in 1984, said that they would vote against the Republican candidates in November.

But the scandal about the Republican senator did not stop there. The image of Quayle the family man, father of three children, and loving husband was now fading. The vice presidential candidate was being accused of marital infidelity, he was reminded of a vacation trip to Florida and the arrival there at the same time of a well-known star of the demimonde. The accusation was fraught with serious consequences in the United States. Remember what the press did to the Democratic presidential contender Gary Hart, who was accused of rocking the foundations of family life in America. Hart was forced to drop out.

But the ballyhoo over Quayle prompted an observer on THE NEW YORK TIMES to call G. Bush's choice an "insult to Americans' intelligence." Quayle's family was quite understandly angry with the "unscrupulous" journalists. The senator's daughter Marilyn said that they had "gone too far" and that there was so much interest in her father because there were too many journalists at the Republican Convention with "nothing to do." Robert Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, sympathized with Quayle and gave him a... fire extinguisher with which to combat the press. But, joking apart, there are no other obvious methods of pacifying the "rampant" journalists.

But it is much more important for us to know what Quayle III would bring to the White House. Anyone who has studied Quayle sufficiently would admit that his outstanding qualities are good luck and a willingness to work hard. "I have been lucky in my life," Quayle observed after being chosen by Bush. "I have never worried about where I am going." Incidentally, the organizers of the Republican election campaign consider that this problem need not bother him in the future either. The main thing for the young senator is to follow in the wake of the current vice president, without taking any unsanctioned steps on his own.

Youth and photogenicity are not always synonymous with political maturity, and that is why, during his time in the Senate, Quayle has made every effort to shed his old political "pretty boy" and lightweight legislator image earned during his spell in Congress. Hence the increased work capacity and the willingness to take on any dirty job in the Senate, such as sorting out the unwieldy Senate committee structure.

Dan Quayle's credo is little different from the positions of the other Republican "hawks," except that he is even more intolerant of any manifestation of liberalism. He invariably votes for cuts in appropriations for social programs and against plans to allocate extra funds for aid to farmers. He is not favorably disposed to veterans and he is against a review of the cost of living index, which can hit hard at Americans living below the official poverty line. Nor does he accept that women in the United States should have equal rights with men. Incidentally, he is altogether uncompromising as far as women are concerned. Some years ago he voted for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting abortions. But these are all American domestic issues.

Far more interesting is his attitude toward international issues. But here again there is the same conservatism, combined with faith in the infallibility of the "hard line" toward anyone who is not on America's side and a lack of faith in the possibility of normal relations with the "communist bloc." Quayle has said more than once that he remains a firm advocate of the continuation of the Star Wars program. He is an ardent advocate of the early deployment of the first tier of SDI and of a change in the provisions of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty, which he regards as a barrier to the implementation of the Star Wars program. Concerning Soviet-American relations, Quayle has said that, "unfortunately," the Soviet leader's style "goes down well in the West," although when it comes to the changes taking place in the USSR, they are, in his opinion, extremely insignificant. Moreover, he obviously disapproves of the possible creation of joint Soviet-American enterprises and the establishment of close economic links between the two countries, considering that they would only strengthen the Soviets, and that, apparently, is against U.S. interests. Quayle says that he is basically wary about the prospects of close cooperation between the USSR and the United States.

Quayle's positions, even if one allows for the usual U.S. election candidate's desire to be "holier than the pope" and not be suspected of being "overly optimistic," are clear and consistent enough. And G. Bush evidently knew this when he chose his running mate.

Kozyakov Views U.S. Election Campaign

LD1309121688 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Vladislav Kozyakov looks at some aspects of the election campaign in the United States:

World security issues and relations with the Soviet Union are high on the agenda of election debates. The way in which the leading contenders for the presidency have been holding the debates produced the impression that there has been no summit meeting that made a breakthrough in relations between our countries, and that there has been no INF Treaty—a historic one starting nuclear disarmament.

The Soviet people in this context cannot but ask the question about the continuity of American foreign policy. Indeed, after the favorable shifts in Soviet-American foreign relations lately, one could expect national debates in the United States on what's going to be next, where to go, and what steps to take to finalize new disarmament agreements and bring about greater confidence between Soviet and American people. Regrettably, both main candidates have focused on entirely different matters. Their debates are reminiscent of the worst kinds of tension. The question what arms the United States should give preference to are again in the forefront. At relations with the Soviet Union, the candidates look from positions of an arms build-up.

All this is very familiar. Presidential candidates have more than once tried to outdo each other in using power language in relations with the Soviet Union. Each time such competition proved mere flirtation with the ultraright, who support the idea of an unbridled arms race. However, improving relations with the Soviet Union and signing the INF Treaty has required something completely different: forgetting the power language and learning the language of cooperation. To my mind, the just-started elimination of missiles in Texas and at Soviet bases shows better than any rhetoric what is really needed to strengthen the security of the Soviet Union and the United States and make their relations better.

I believe that crucial to the forthcoming election will be the issue of the continuity of the cooperation policy, and not that of what weapons America should make: conventional, nuclear, or space weapons. Who of the main candidates shows more readiness to continue a policy that has produced the INF Treaty we shall be able to see in the time left before the election.

U.S. Party Representatives Debate USSR Ties

PM1409110388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Debates Around Relations With the USSR"]

[Text] New York, 12 Sep—Who can best do business with the Soviet Union—the Republicans or the Democrats? Representative debates on this topic were held at South Carolina's Columbia University. The Republicans were represented there by Henry Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state; Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations; New York Congressman Jack Kemp; and William Buckley, editor in chief of the ultraconservative NATIONAL REVIEW magazine. The Democratic Party stance was defended by former Senators George McGovern and Gary Hart.

Although a considerable proportion of the debates on the eve of the November election was taken up by the customary election wrangling and attacks on the presidential contenders from both parties, they essentially took the form of broad discussion of the whole spectrum of Soviet-U.S. relations and their prospects, with the emphasis on arms control problems.

The "Strategic Defense Initiative" put forward by the Reagan administration provoked the most heated disputes. The positions of the Democrats and Republicans were diametrically opposed on this issue. Kirkpatrick, Kissinger, Kemp, and Buckley unanimously stood up for the speediest development and deployment of the "Star Wars" program. In his turn Warnke stressed: "Spending huge sums now on deploying technology that still doesn't exist and thus ruining all chances of a substantial reduction in offensive forces is a senseless policy."

U.S. Official Calls for 'Concessions' at Forum

PM1409115588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Focus on Restructuring"]

[Text] New York, 13 Sep—The participants in an international symposium organized by the Institute for the Study of Security Problems in East-West Relations have been discussing a broad range of economic questions—from the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations in the trade sphere to restructuring the Soviet Union's economic mechanism.

The symposium participants listened very attentively to a report by Academician A. Aganbegyan, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department, on transformations in the Soviet Union's economic policy.

Y. Venaus, director of the Washington research firm "Planecon," and H. Luers, former U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia, spoke in support of the processes taking place in the USSR. Luers called restructuring "the most revolutionary peaceful upheaval."

A speech made by A. Wendt, specialist for strategic technology in the U.S. State Department, caused an openly negative reaction in the hall. Remaining a slave to stereotypes of the old thinking, he put forward as a condition for abolishing discriminatory trade and economic restrictions against the USSR concessions by the Soviet Union to the West on a number of military and humanitarian questions.

Soviet, U.S. Institutes Present Report on Ties
LD1509091888 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Requirements for securing a stable coexistence in Soviet-American relations—is the title of a report prepared by the Institute of the U.S. and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and by the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations.

At a press conference in Moscow today at which the document was presented, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the institute said that many realities of the world look alike and the authors of the report took advantage of this to concentrate on common approaches to questions of contemporary political situation.

"The chief goal of our study is to assess jointly the possibilities and methods for ending the 'cold war', the ways of demilitarising the Soviet-American relations," said Arthur Macy Cox, the main author of the draft on the American side, secretary of the American Committee on Soviet-American Relations, formerly a leading official of the U.S. State Department, the CIA and the Brookings Institution. He pointed out that despite the differences in approaches, the sides have been able to make joint conclusions unanimously.

Arthur Cox said that he would strive for the application of the recommendations contained in the report, by U.S. politicians, including the next administration. He said it was gratifying for the Americans to be aware that representatives of the Soviet Union set themselves the same goals. That is why it is not just a report, it is a dynamic document with a practical future, he added.

The report contains, among other things, recommendations to the effect that the USSR and the USA sought to reach agreements on the non-use of their troops in regional conflicts, on the settlement of these through the instrumentality of international organisations, to work out a list of the most advanced weapons systems which must not be turned over to Third World countries. The document stresses the need for the two countries in their military planning to adopt the concept of "reasonable sufficiency" as well as to give attention to destroying the means for dealing the first strike, to enhance the role of the United Nations in the settlement of international conflicts, and to strictly abide by the adopted interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

Soviet, U.S. Journalists Hold Roundtable
LD1409211088 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Representatives of the mass media and promotional and information agencies of Seattle, USA, and Soviet journalists had a "round table" talk at the Moscow House of Friendship With Foreign Countries today.

The Americans are visiting the Soviet Union on the initiative of the Troika Inc promotional and information agency from Seattle. The agency organises professional and business tourism between Soviet and American citizens and helps establishing business contacts with Soviet organisations interested in such cooperation.

The American side comprised journalists working on the radio, television, editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, cameramen and staffers of the Seattle promotional and information agencies.

The Soviet delegation was represented by journalists from the leading Soviet agencies and publishers, such as TASS, the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN), the Soviet television, the newspaper PRAVDA and magazines ZA RUBEZHOM (ABROAD) and MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN (INTERNATIONAL LIFE).

Seattle will be hosting the second goodwill games in 1990. It was not accidental that the Americans were particularly interested in the professional training of Soviet journalists, conditions of their work and the specific character of the Soviet mass media under glasnost.

Commenting on the result of the nearly two-hour talk, David Endicott, a spokesman for Troika Inc, said that Soviet and American newsmen are vested with particular responsibility in making Soviet and American people understand each other better and ridding them from hostile stereotypes. He said the American journalists wanted to see the two countries engaged in peaceful competition rather than in the arms race.

Cooperation Document Signed With Canada
LD1509092288 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—A regular (seventh) session of the mixed Canadian-Soviet Commission on Economic, Industrial and Scientific and Technological Cooperation has examined the most topical issues of the status and prospects of the trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Canada. The commission completed its work here today.

The signing of the final document of the session was preceded by a meeting between Jacques Roy, deputy minister for foreign affairs of Canada and head of the Canadian delegation, and Konstantin Katushev, minister for foreign economic relations of the USSR, as well as by talks with officials from some of the Soviet ministries and departments. The discussions centered mainly on the prospects for bilaterial trade relations and the development of new forms of economic cooperation, including industrial cooperation and the setting up of joint ventures.

The session of the mixed commission gave much attention to questions of broader Soviet exports to Canada and of more diversified Canadian exports to the USSR.

The basis for this may be provided by exchange of equipment, technologies and know-how in sectors which are priority ones for both the USSR and Canada in virtue of the similarity of climate and nature of the two countries. Among these: the development of northern and Arctic areas, exploration and extraction of mineral resources, the use of hydropower and forest resources, the development of agriculture and processing of farming produce, and protection of environment.

The sides noted with satisfaction the signing of a number of agreements between Soviet organisations and Canadian firms to set up joint ventures in the USSR and the pursuit of talks on new projects, including the establishment of joint ventures in Canada.

Speakers at the session included representatives of government bodies of Canadian provinces Quebec, Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Alberta, as well as representatives of new foreign economic organisations of the Russian Federation and Estonia. Speakers provided useful business information and made specific proposals on how to develop cooperation between the Canadian provinces and Soviet republics.

The session also noted the successful development of scientific and technological relations. Several agreements were signed in 1987-1988 on scientific and technological cooperation between Soviet ministries and Canadian firms, a caterpiller cross-country vehicle was developed which is unique in the world, and groundwork has been laid for cooperation in extraction and utilisation of oil-bearing sands and heavy oil. In the opinion of the sides there are now favourable conditions for a further expansion of scientific and technological ties as well as of such new forms of cooperation as transfers of technology and of scientific and technological information, the setting up of joint science and technology groups, centers and enterprises, organisation of co-production between Soviet and Canadian firms.

The mixed commission discussed other questions, including improvement of the conditions for the commerical activities of Canadian businessmen in the USSR and of Soviet trade representatives in Canada, consultations on the problem of the USSR's entry into GATT and others. The sides agreed to hold the next session of the mixed commission in Ottawa in 1989.

China

PRC To 'Considerably Reduce' Defense Spending

LD1409203188 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 14 TASS—The People's Republic of China is to considerably reduce, as of January 1, next year, expenditures for capital defence construction.

This has been stated by senior representative of the People's Liberation Army of China Zhao Nangqi. The army does not plan a single new big military structure for 1989, he said. Work is to continue to complete the construction of a small number of auxiliary structures, including runways on military airfields. The construction of many earlier-planned defence structures will be postponed or allocations for their construction will be substantially cut.

The money thus released will be used to build barracks and improve living conditions of the personnel, high-placed military men stated.

Commentary Views 'Deep-Rooted' Friendship

OW1409120788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Station observer Mulatov commentary]

[Text] Dear friends: First of all, allow me to express my thoughts and feelings. I am one of those Soviet people who started work in international affairs following the victory of the Chinese revolution. We Soviet people have always had friendly feelings for the Chinese people. Even when we were middle school students, we were interested in the situation in China, the revolutionary activities led by the Communist Party of China, and the war against the Kuomintang reactionaries who were supported by U.S. imperialism. We enthusiastically discussed the reports that came from China and exulted over the total defeat of the Chiang gang by the Chinese People's Liberation Army in 1949 and the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime.

The founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949 and the withdrawal of U.S. imperialism were great events which had an important bearing on the world. At that time, the world socialist system had just been formed. As friends and comrades-in-arms, we supported the Chinese people in embarking on the road of socialist construction under the leadership of the CPC.

The friendship between the Soviet Union and China is deep-rooted and has an honorable tradition. We could say that we have been called upon by history itself to be close and friendly.

The 39th anniversary of the founding of the PRC will arrive soon. I believe that it will be a good occasion to think about further developing relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Dear listeners, I am deeply convinced that the Soviet and Chinese people have high hopes for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting to be held before long. Judging from the situation of steady expansion of contracts and exchange of visits and public opinion in both countries, the conditions are ripe for such a meeting. Both the Soviet and Chinese people are placing expectations on this great event.

At present, both the Soviet Union and China are embarking on social and economic reform, the people of both countries more clearly understand that we are working for the same goal, our major policies are in accord, and there is great potential for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China. This cooperation will promote socialism and create a stable and peaceful environment for Asia and the whole world.

It is particularly inspiring that differences of opinion, like the differences on regional issues, will not be unsurmountable obstacles to continuing and developing talks between the two countries. Not long ago, the Soviet Union and China held a working meeting on the Cambodian issue which eloquently proved this point. Like many other Soviet people, I am deeply convinced that there are good prospects for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Northeast Asia

Extensive Seoul Olympic Security Measures Viewed

PM1409110588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Security Needed at Olympics"]

[Text] Seoul, 13 Sep—A German Shepherd dog is among the numerous visitors appearing daily in our office. Accompanied by its guide, it goes round the room unhurriedly sniffing the cupboards, tables, and electronic apparatus, and willingly has its photograph taken. In accordance with the program the entire enormous press center is checked in the same way to combat terrorism.

The unprecedented security measures, and the number of people who are involved in this work, which is generally essential in our worrying times, is one of the main impressions which the capital of the 1988 Olympics makes on its foreign guests.

The watchful eye is sensed on arrival at the airport, where the customs officers carefully inspect passengers' baggage and want to know whether you have brought with you to the Olympics a pistol or explosives.

Checkpoints are a mandatory feature of all Olympic facilities, including accommodation for journalists. Officials in civilian and military uniform are part of the cordon, checking your bag, passing your accreditation card through a special device (with the object of finding out whether it is a fake) and suggesting you go through the usual "security gates" which are to be found in any airport.

A person in the press village who introduced himself to us as Mr Pak expressed himself in Russian quite well. He is one of those responsible for our well-being in our 24-story home. Pak's colleagues (three-fourths of them are constantly on duty in the hall) also know a few Russian words and are exceptionally attentive and welcoming. As we were told, they are students studying Russian at the local university. But there is no doubt that they had also been trained to avert undesired incidents.

Powerful barrier devices can be seen in the automobile access to the Olympic facilities: heavy, sliding fences and barriers, and also plates with metal projections. Probably not even a mouse will get in.

At any crossing where Olympic vehicles run, it is easy to spot security service officers in two's and three's dressed in civilian clothing. The impression is that this service is not concealing its presence at the games in numbers but, on the contrary, is making it clear that it is an integral and important part of the present Olympics. In fairness it should be said that the security service at the games is, so to speak, unobtrusive, and judging by first impressions it is not creating any obstacles to journalists' work.

J.A. Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, responded positively to the security measures at the Olympics, noting that the terrorist threat accompanies any major international event.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Urges Objective Press Reports on Cambodia

BK1409064588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Observer Alekseyev commentary: "Contrary to Reality"]

[Text] Currently, there is no other issue in Southeast Asia which attracts as much press attention as the Cambodian problem. Papers, television, and radio again and again comment on the results of the meeting of the four Cambodian parties in Bogor in July, compare these results with the statements issued later by participants at the meeting, and predict a solution to the Cambodian problem. In general, these predictions tend to be optimistic. The consensus is that there are enough possibilities for resolving the Cambodian problem in the near future. It is necessary for all parties to objectively assess the other side's position. Our observer Comrade Alekseyev writes:

It is regrettable that in the past few days papers in some Asian countries have published articles with an opposite view. The authors of these articles have tried hard to create a doubtful atmosphere concerning Vietnam, an atmosphere which was already cleared at the Bogor meeting. For example, they claim that Vietnam has refused to unconditionally withdraw its troops from Cambodia and that Vietnam insists on linking its troop withdrawal to the prevention of the Khmer Rouge's return to power in the country. It is true that at the informal meeting in Bogor, both the PRK and Vietnam considered the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer units closely linked to other factors leading to the normalization of the situation. In other words, Cambodia and Vietnam adhere to the stand

according to which the prevention of the blood-stained Pol Pot regime, which massacred over 3 million Cambodian people, from returning to power is no less important than the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. We would like to note that other participants at the Bogor meeting were also of the same view and have pointed out in their statements that the withdrawal of Vietnamese units from Cambodia and the prevention of the Khmer Rouge's return to power are important interrelated factors in normalizing the situation.

Previously, Phnom Penh and Hanoi have put conditions linking the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces to the elimination of the Khmer Rouge threat. On this point, the authors of the above-mentioned articles certainly have allowed themselves to go astray. Cambodian and Vietnamese leaders have always pointed out that all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia before the first quarter of 1990 whether other issues leading to the normalization of the situation have been resolved or not. As for the Khmer Rouge, there is no fear in Phnom Penh that they would be a threat or take over state authorities following the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from the country. Cambodian leaders firmly believe that the Cambodian Armed Forces will be able to eliminate all these threats. An Indonesian paper considers this circumstance to be a stabilizing factor.

It is easy to understand because, since the Bogor meeting, representatives of neutral circles of Cambodian exiles and the ASEAN countries have expressed fears that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal would pave the way for the Pol Pot clique to return to power in Cambodia.

Near East & South Asia

Iraq's Hammadi Arrives in Moscow on 2-Day Visit

JN1409113588 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1118 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep (INA)—Sa'dun Hammadi, minister of state for foreign affairs, arrived here today on a 2-day visit to the USSR.

Hammadi told INA that the purpose of his visit was to explain the substantive issues raised in the Geneva talks between Iraq and Iran since Iraq believes that there must be a solution to the basic problems which caused the war in order to build a lasting peace.

Hammadi added that he will also exchange viewpoints with the Soviet officials on all current issues pertaining to the post cease-fire period and Iraq's position on them.

Hammadi left Baghdad this morning for the Soviet capital.

Meets With Shevardnadze

PM1509103788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Iraqi Representative"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister of the USSR, on 12 September received Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and minister of state for foreign affairs of Iraq, who has arrived in Moscow on a brief working visit.

During their constructive and businesslike talks, they thoroughly discussed the state of affairs as regards the settling of the Iran-Iraq conflict and analyzed the situation which has taken shape at the Iran-Iraq talks.

The Soviet Union, Shevardnadze said, has hailed the agreement on a cease-fire and on the start of talks, which has paved the real way to peace between Iran and Iraq. The agreement has become possible as a result of tireless efforts by the United Nations, its Security Council, and the UN secretary general and thanks to the goodwill demonstrated by Iraq and Iran and their desire to put an end, at long last, to bloodletting and to the military conflict holding no promise for either country.

The commencement of a practical settlement of this difficult problem has been facilitated also by the general improvement of the international political climate and progress in defusing conflicts in other parts of the world.

For its part, a normalized situation in the Persian Gulf should exert positive influence on the further evolution of international processes and expedite the removal of hotbeds of tensions where they are still present in the world.

In this light, the importance of preventing the negotiating process from being held up is particularly obvious, Shevardnadze said. This requires that both sides show maximum restraint, patience, political realism, flexibility, and a readiness to look for mutually acceptable solutions. Everything must be done to prevent the process of a settlement that has begun from being scuttled and to rule out any relapse into military activities.

The Soviet Union has done and will keep doing everything in its power to facilitate the effective operation of the mechanics of a settlement, which has been created with so much difficulty.

With this aim we are prepared to maintain continuous contact with both sides involved in the talks and cooperate with the Security Council and UN secretary general in consolidating and furthering the negotiating process.

In connection with the examination of various aspects of an Iran-Iraq settlement, Shevardnadze told Hammadi about the Geneva process of an Afghanistan settlement,

stressing that it is one thing to conclude an agreement and another, and the most important, to observe it unfailingly in the interest of achieving an enduring peace.

Experience shows that difficulties in the realization of the Geneva agreements have arisen first of all because of unceasing violations of their letter and sprit by Pakistan, which has defied numerous addresses by the Afghan Government and keeps training, arming, and equipping antigovernment groups on its territory and sending them into Afghanistan. The world community should not put up with such Pakistani actions.

Hammadi set forth the Iraqi Government's point of view on the substance of an Iran-Iraq settlement and emphasized his country's invariable desire to achieve a fair and lasting peace in the Persian Gulf area.

Touching on press reports alleging Iraqi use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish population, Hammadi dismissed them as fabrications by certain quarters in the West and declared that the Iraqi Armed Forces have never used such weapons and are not going to use them. The Soviet side took note of that statement.

Shevardnadze and Hammadi pointed with satisfaction to the high level reached in developing Soviet-Iraqi relations, especially over recent years, and reaffirmed the mutual desire to continue consolidating them.

Paper on Claims of Iraqi Use of Poison Gas

PM1509091188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "Relations Have Been Aggravated"]

[Text] According to reports from Baghdad, the Iraqi Government has again denied reports that the Iraqi Army has used chemical weapons against the Kurds. An Iraqi official spokesman has stated that the armed forces have not used toxins in the operations they have carried out "to purge the north of the country of traitors and agents." Iraqi Information Minister L.N. Jasim denounced the U.S. Senate decision to introduce economic sanctions against Iraq in connection with these accusations, calling it "interference in internal affairs."

These sanctions provide for an end to the granting of U.S. credits and the sale of equipment and materials to Iraq, as well as the introduction of a ban on the import of Iraqi oil. The sanctions also demand that the United States vote against granting Iraq loans by international financial organizations.

At the same time the Turkish Government has stated that inquiries among Kurdish refugees have revealed no evidence confirming the use of chemical weapons against them.

At the same time a British newspaper, THE OBSERVER, asserts that evidence of the use of toxins against Kurdish insurgents in Iraq is "almost indisputable." In an interview with the British newspaper THE TIMES, H. al-Zibari, member of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan Central Committee, stated that "the Iraqi troops have been ordered immediately to purge 65 Kurdish settlements of any evidence of the use of poison gases so that foreign observers and journalists can be taken there."

Commenting on the drastic deterioration in U.S.-Iraqi relations, the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes: "This development of events is all the more unexpected in that the United States was formerly viewed by many observers as a secret ally of Baghdad."

Moscow Says U.S. 'Common Enemy' of Iran, Iraq

NC1409134388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Massive anti-U.S. demonstrations have taken place in Baghdad. Participants converged on the U.S. Embassy and protested against the economic sanctions approved by the U.S. Senate against Iraq. The U.S. mass media considers the anti-Iraqi step a response to the report on the Iraqi use of toxic materials against Kurdish insurgents. This report was denied by Iraqi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Sa'dun Hammadi. In the past Washington has not reacted this seriously, nor to this extent, to facts related to the Iraqi use of toxic materials, that is, until a cease-fire was declared on the Iran-Iraq fronts.

In Washington, Iran and Iraq have both been considered responsible for such criminal actions, but military and economic sanctions were only approved against Iraq. This stems from considerations by formulators of U.S. strategy, and it reveals the reasons for their policy of fanning the flames of the Iran-Iraq war and creating fear in Arab countries regarding a so-called threat from Iran. Under the veil of anti-Iranian hysteria, and to conceal their repressive actions, the United States stationed a massive naval, military force, which at times exceeded 40 warships, in the Persian Gulf. This military naval force was transformed into a springboard, which permitted the United States to carry out its policy from a position of strength in the region.

It is therefore not astonishing that Washington displayed an extremely guarded reaction to the tragedy of a U.S. warship's missile attack on an Iranian airliner. Now the situation has changed. On the Iran-Iraq fronts, a cease-fire is in force. Talks are in progress in Geneva on peace between Iran and Iraq and the resolution of their disputes. The chimerical pretexts for the increased U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf are absent. The use of tactics of force in this region is becoming difficult, but

Washington does not appear perturbed. In order to exert pressure on the littoral states and to create impediments on the smooth course of normalization of the situation, new pretexts are being invented. This time, the formulators of U.S. strategy have decided to activate anti-Iraqi elements in their policy.

According to the (?rhetoric) of those who have imposed economic sanctions on Iraq, they have just now realized the effect of the (?Iraqi) action and think the U.S. should retain (?control). [sentence as heard] This is because Iraq's loans amount to over $60 billion, Iraq's oil exports to the United States have dwindled to a minimum, and Baghdad receives $800 million in loans annually. On the other hand, the planners of U.S. foreign policy, by exerting pressure on Iraq, are motivating Iranian extremist circles to impede the Geneva talks and increase the clamor over the use of chemical weapons. By doing so, they are seeking to drag Iran into the orbit of their policy.

In any case, recent events indicate that the United States is expanding its scene of action in the Persian Gulf by the use of strength. This policy clashes with the reality of the situation in the region and is opposed to the interests of peace and security of the region's people. What concerns Iran and Iraq is that they now realize that the imperialist U.S. circles are their common enemy. Washington's alternate wooing of Tehran and Baghdad is merely a veil to conceal the anti-Iranian and anti-Arab programs of the U.S. militarists and monopolies.

Afghan Clashes, Pakistani 'Violations' Noted

PM1509074588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 13 Sep—Armed clashes have taken place between Afghan Army subunits and antigovernment groups in the past 24 hours in Konduz, Parvan, and Paktika Provinces. During the combat actions the rebels lost 35 dead and around 30 wounded. The weapons captured by Afghan servicemen included submachine-guns and antipersonnel mines.

The cities of Herat, Qandahar, Asadabad, Lashkar Gah, Gardeyz, and Meymaneh have been subjected to heavy gunfire in recent days, and there are dead and wounded among the civilian population. In Bagdasht village (Herat Province) alone, five peasants have been killed by rocket fragments.

In Jowzjan Province, a well-armed group of extremists attacked a vehicle convoy traveling on the Sheberghan to Mazar-e Sharif highway. The sarandoy (troops of the Ministry of the Interior) escorting the convoy repulsed the rebel attack.

Antigovernment forces on Afghan territory are continuing to receive aid from Pakistan. According to existing information, a new group of extremists including two Arab advisers has arrived in the region of Charikar city (Parvan Province). The group, which has been specially trained in Pakistan, has the task of activating the anti-government operations of the so-called "Islamic Party of Afghanistan." It has been established that arms and ammunition convoys escorted by rebel detachments have appeared in Badghis, Herat, and Ghorw Provinces and in Khowst District.

In connection with the Pakistani side's continuing violations of the Geneva accords, the Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent a note to the UN goodwill mission, the 80th note to date. The note lists specific violations and contains a request that they be examined thoroughly.

Round-Up of Rebel Activities

LD1309133788 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 13 TASS—In the past 24 hours armed clashes between units of the Afghan Army and anti-government groups took place in the Konduz, Parvan and Paktika Provinces. During combat operations 35 mutineers were killed and about 30 wounded. Arms captured by Afghan troops include submachine-guns and infantry mines.

In the past few days heavy artillery shelled the cities of Herat, Qandahar, Asadabad, Lashkar Gah, Gardeyz and Meymaneh. There are casualties among population. Five peasants were killed by rocket fragments in the village of Bagdasht (Herat Province).

In Jowzjan Province a well-armed group of extremists attacked a truck column on the road between Shibirghan and Mazar-e Sharif. Soldiers of Interior Ministry troops who escorted the column repulsed the attack.

Anti-government forces in Afghanistan receive additional aid from Pakistan. According to available data, a new group of extremists, including two Arab advisers, arrived in the area of the city of Charikar (Parvan Province). The task of the group specially trained in Pakistan is to step up anti-government activities in the so-called Islamic Party of Afghanistan. Caravans with weapons and ammunition accompanied by mutineers were spotted in the Badghis, Herat and Ghowr Provinces and Khowst District.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry forwarded a new, 80th, note to the U.N. goodwill mission in connection with continued violations of the Geneva accords by the Pakistani side. It lists specific facts of violations and contains a request about their detailed investigation.

Paper Profiles Afghan Mine-Clearing Work

PM1409113788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch: "Minefield Near Kabul"]

[Excerpts] Kabul, Sep—It would look like peacetime plowing but for the blasts rocking the armor and the shrapnel flying overhead.... Soviet sappers were restoring to life a wasteland in the vicinity of the Afghan capital. [passage omitted]

Colonel G. Tereshchenko, representing the Soviet command, a sapper and the son of a sapper in the Great Patriotic War, announced:

A decision has been adopted to eliminate minefield No 44. Reasons: expanding construction at the village of Kala-Jabbarhan ahead of it, and a request from peasants wanting to use the waste ground for grazing livestock....

Minefield No 44 was of average size by sappers' standards—200 meters by 50 meters. A total of 71 delayed-action antipersonnel fragmentation mines were laid 28 June 1983 on a "tongue" of the Karizi-Kalan steppe which stretches almost to the outskirts of Kabul. This was pedantically stated on a form which lay on the table among the "borzhomi" bottles.

A run-of-the-mill task, Colonel N. Yelovik, leader of the operation, confirmed. To begin with a BMR [armored mine-sweeping vehicle] sweeps the field. Then a team of sappers with mine detectors, probing rods, and sniffer dogs moves in. If pressure-detonated high-explosive antitank mines in plastic casings are involved, then the main task falls to the sappers' team doing the check-out job. Delicate, manual work...

Two Afghan military men are examining with us the chart indicating the location of the mines. Major General Muhammad Ayub Mansur heads the engineering directorate of the Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Defense. Colonel Abdul Shukur is a section chief responsible for recording eliminated Soviet minefields. A total of 2,131 fields were laid. Three-fourths of them have now been cleared.

There are no problems with Soviet minefields, General Mansur says. But there are as many dushman mines as raisins in a pilaff in our land. Only a naive or a malicious person could fail to see the difference between them. Where does this difference lie? In the fact that the purpose of the fields laid by Soviet sappers or our forces is to protect the approaches to military installations—airfields, strongpoints, outposts, or military garrisons; or to guard important national economic facilities—hydroelectric power stations, power lines, tunnels, or bridges. Furthermore, they are subject to supervision and strict control.

On the other hand, each gang is waging its own mine warfare (frequently with the assistance of foreign instructors and advisers), laying individual mines or clusters of mines on roads to disrupt transport, in the vicinity of villages or water sources. These obstructions and fields, with no charts or demarcations, present a lethal danger to the civilian population and returning refugees.

The terrorists are trying to extend the mine war to Kabul and other cities. Motor vehicles filled with explosives are placed in streets. Magnetic mines are attached to cars and buses, and booby traps in the shape of pens, children's toys, and various objects liable to be picked up by any citizen and in particular children are scattered around....

Generally speaking, we lay mines for protection, whereas the bandits lay them with evil motives, Colonel Yelovik sums up. The engineering troops of the limited contingent of Soviet forces alone have defused around 250,000 dushman mines over the past 8 years. I am using the word dushman as a kind of shorthand, since the mines are manufactured in the United States, Italy, Belgium, Britain, China, Israel, Pakistan, Egypt.... We have more work than we can cope with. No subunit, even the smallest, ever leaves for the mountains without sappers. We are constantly defusing mines in villages. The elders come to us and say: It is time to sow, but there are bandit mines in the fields. It happens that our boys clear mines while being sniped at from the "green zone." We clear mines from the approaches to water sources, irrigation ditches, bridges....

The longer the war lasts, the more difficult it will be for us to clear the mines when the time comes, General Mansur sighs.

Today's operation, I mutter to myself, is bringing this time nearer, if only by a step. [passage omitted]

I left the minefield, unable to wait for the finale. I was told that what would happen would be this: Under the camouflage net a document would be signed stating that a minefield with such-and-such dimensions had been cleared. One copy for us, one copy for the Afghan side. Signed by a commission consisting of...

I was also told the lineup of the commission. Its chairman would be Colonel Abdul Shukur, its members would include Sergeant Mitrofanenko.

...Volodya will walk up to the table and sit down, just as heads of state do when they perform a treaty signing ceremony like the one he saw on television. His short-cropped head with the boyish, yet tired, sunburned face will bend over the file with the document. As he bends his head, his ears will be ringing. And his eyes will scan the text: "The commission has established that as a result of a mine sweeping operation, checked out by sappers and sniffer dogs, the minefield has been completely cleared."

It will be his moment of triumph, although Volodya will not betray this with a single gesture or word. He will literally have earned this moment through suffering. He understands that the signature which he will put down will resemble those which abounded in postwar Europe. Except that then our men were writing on walls, in big letters with white paint: "Checked out. No mines."

Afghan Minister Lauds Power Industry Aid

PM1409081788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by own correspondent V. Okulov under the rubric "High Points of Cooperation": "Power for Development"]

[Text] Kabul—The power transmission line which stretches from the provincial center in the north of Afghanistan—the city of Mazar-e Sharif—to the gas enterprise of Jarkuduk is now functioning. The power transmission line and the electricity substation in Jarkuduk have been built with the Soviet Union's economic and technical assistance.

The commissioning of new facilities of Soviet-Afghan cooperation will make it possible to supply electricity for the developing sectors of the country's industry—the gas and oil sectors. Not only will the shortage of electricity in the administrative center of the Jowzjan Province—the city of Sheberghan—be eliminated, but the possibility has emerged for the electrification of a number of villages.

"In comparison with the period before the April revolution," R.M. Paktin, Afghan minister of irrigation and energy [title as published], told the PRAVDA correspondent, "generation of electricity has increased by 60 percent. The number of consumers has increased by 68,000. Moreover, 60,000 of them are individual subscribers, that is family homes. They have increased by 50 percent. Although per capita power generation in Afghanistan is not high, an increase in the number of families using electricity is a typical achievement of the postrevolutionary years."

Moreover, Soviet-Afghan cooperation plays a large role, the minister stressed. It has been implemented for more than a quarter of a century. With technical and economic assistance from our northern neighbor in the 1960's and 1970's, such major power facilities as the "Naglu," "Puli-Khumri," and "Darunta" hydroelectric power stations and the thermal power plant in Mazar-e Sharif were commissioned in Afghanistan. They generate about 70 percent of Afghanistan's electricity.

After the revolution, cooperation in the power sphere developed intensively. For example, by 1987 the power transmission line from the Soviet border to Mazar-e Sharif and Kholm was commissioned, and also from the border to Konduz—with two substations. In the Balkh and Konduz Provinces the shortage of electricity was eliminated.

We have at our disposal a program for developing power to the year 2000, R.M. Paktin continued. It has been formulated jointly with Soviet specialists. The program provides for the construction of facilities whose significance is difficult to overestimate. The creation of a single Afghan power grid is also envisaged in the future.

Of course, this will need vast spending and huge facilities: Large hydroelectric power stations will need to be built on the Panjsher River and in other places—the country has huge water resources. And, of course, Afghanistan needs peace to implement these and other constructive plans, the minister concluded.

Dobrynin Meets With Syrian Party Official

LD1409223788 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Questions of Soviet-Syrian relations, some problems of the present-day international situation have been discussed today by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and Deputy General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'th) 'Abdallah al-Ahmar. He is now in Moscow on his way home.

In discussing the Middle East situation it was noted that the persisting conflict situation there was becoming more intolerable day in day out. The CPSU and Ba'th representatives declared for building up collective efforts of the international community aimed at bringing durable peace to that region on the basis of the balance of interests of all sides. The way to such peace could be opened up by a plenipotentiary international conference, with the task of its convocation becoming increasingly topical.

The interlocutors expressed satisfaction with the high level of the Soviet-Syrian relations in different areas, the friendly CPSU-Ba'th relations and reaffirmed their parties' striving for further development of these relations.

'Arafat on International Conference, PLO Stand

LD1409204388 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Paris September 14 TASS—The only possible way to establishing a lasting peace in the Middle East is to call and hold an international conference whose main participants should include the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel, the most interested parties, said in the French city of Strasbourg Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, addressing a group of socialists of the European Parliament. The present-day international situation, he pointed out,

when the Soviet Union and the United States negotiate on questions of disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts, creates favourable conditions for a solution of the Palestinian problems.

'Arafat called on West European countries to cooperate with the Palestine Liberation Organization in achieving peace in the region and finding a way out of the present deadlock. He confirmed the PLO's commitment to resolutions of the United Nations on the situation in the Middle East, including decisions of the U.N. Security Council, which provide, among other things, for the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and establishment of their own state. Displaying goodwill, Yasir 'Arafat said, the PLO accepts proposals calling on a withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and a transfer of administration over them directly to the U.N.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, he said further on, is a national liberation movement which unconditionally denounced terrorism in any form. At the same time the Palestinian people themselves are a target, as before, for terrorist activities of the Israeli state.

Analyst Views 'Arafat Speech

LD1409154588 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

Trips by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to Western Europe always draw much attention. I remember how it was difficult for us pressmen accredited in Rome to elbow our way into overcrowded balconies for the press and the public of the Italian Parliament when the Palestinian leader spoke there.

The present visit by Yasir 'Arafat to Strasbourg, to the headquarters of the European Parliament, is also very interesting. Expectations with respect to his speech to its deputies were justified. The speech deserves a thorough analysis, since it sets out in great detail the present position of the leadership of the Palestinian movement on key elements of the Mid-East conflict.

Yasir 'Arafat said that the PLO backed all resolutions of the U.N. Security Council on the Middle East, including Resolution 242 which recognizes the right to existence for all states in the region.

Asked whether the PLO intended to recognize Israel, the Palestinian leader said in an interview with TF-1 station that this problem comes under the terms of reference of the Palestinian National Council which will resolve it in a democratic way. The PLO leader pointed out that it was Israel that stood out against a dialogue with his organization and not vice versa.

The leader of the only organization which fully represents national interests of its people, effectively and unequivocally deprived Israelis of their old argument, according to which Tel Aviv had been alleging for decades that it could not have anything to do with the PLO, since the latter did not recognize and would never recognize the State of Israel.

It would look that Israelis were deprived of all arguments from the political point of view. But, to all appearances, it is more suitable for Tel Aviv having no propaganda covering now to use force, in future too, on occupied Arab territories as the main "argument".

Fierce clashes with the aggressor take place in the Palestinian refugee camps Jabaliyah and Rafah. The same is true of any areas of the Jordan West Bank. Israelis use firearms against demonstrators, which incenses the occupiers.

Protest actions of Arab population on the Israeli-occupied lands are material evidence, as it were, of Yasir 'Arafat's statement in Strasbourg that the uprising of Palestinians which started last December, would continue till Israeli troops are withdrawn from Arab lands.

'Arafat expressed confidence that an independent Palestinian state would be established on territories liberated from Israeli occupation. The position taken by the PLO leadership concerning the decisions of the U.N. Security Council inspires greater hopes that such a state will be really set up, and a just peace will be established on the much-suffering land of the Middle East, taking into account the interests of all parties participating in the protracted conflict.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gromyko Meets With Zimbabwean Parliamentarians

PM1409111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Zimbabwean Parliamentarians in the Kremlin"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received a Zimbabwean parliamentary delegation headed by Noland Chipo Taruwinga Makombe, president of the Senate and chairman of Zimbabwe's parliamentary group, in the Kremlin on 12 September. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During an exchange of opinions, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, a wide range of issues was discussed.

A.A. Gromyko talked about progress in the restructuring of all spheres of Soviet society that is taking place in our country.

The guests shared the enormous impressions made on them by everything they had seen in the Soviet Union in connection with the restructuring policy and its practical results.

International problems were discussed. During the talk A.A. Gromyko indicated that the USSR had resolutely advocated the elimination of the colonial system from the time that the foundations of the United Nations were laid at the 1945 San Francisco conference. This struggle was subsequently continued at the United Nations and was successful. During this process many colonial peoples, in Africa and other places, gained their independence and felt the breath of national freedom.

N.C.T. Makombe: Moreover, a representative of our African country is currently chairman of the Nonaligned Movement. And on problems such as the Near East, the ending of the Iran-Iraq war, and the situation around Cambodia, Zimbabwe's positions largely coincide with Soviet policy. We welcome your disarmament policy—we have been breathing more easily since the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

A.A. Gromyko: The entire world breathed more easily when it heard about the treaty, and we have repeatedly heard that from foreign figures. However, the path of nuclear disarmament will still be long. The Geneva talks on strategic offensive weapons cuts continue, and the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to reach agreement with the United States on this issue.

The Zimbabwean side noted that everyone remembers the crew of the spacecraft that has just completed its flight. Had the craft crashed, the entire crew would have been killed. That is why it is better to spend the funds used for the creation of nuclear weapons on development needs.

Agreeing with this remark, A.A. Gromyko stressed that if only half of these funds were used for peaceful purposes, many developing states, including African states, could solve a considerable proportion of their acute problems.

The Soviet side noted Zimbabwe's major contribution to strengthening the Nonaligned Movement—an important factor in present-day international life. There has been a noticeable enhancement of the movement's role in coordinating the developing countries' foreign policy and economic efforts. The participation of the movement—and of Zimbabwe as its chairman—in the disarmament struggle and in the process of seeking political settlements to regional conflicts has become increasingly active and effective.

Regarding the situation in southern Africa, it was stressed that the Soviet Union has no interests there apart from hoping for the peoples and countries of southern Africa to be able to resolve their own affairs in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

The sides advocated the expansion of international efforts at the negotiating table leading to the easing of conflict in that region on the basis of consideration for the interests of all countries involved and respect for the rights of states and peoples to sovereign independent development.

The Soviet Union continues to support national liberation organizations in southern Africa, and the RSA and Namibian peoples struggling for liberation. The USSR's line of aiding the "Frontline" States opposing the aggressive policy of the land of apartheid—the RSA—remains unchanged. The apartheid policy of that country's ruling circles is inhuman and immoral.

Discussing questions of Soviet-Zimbabwean cooperation, A.A. Gromyko noted that it has a stable tendency toward further development. It is based on the accords reached at the December 1985 and June 1987 meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R.G. Mugabe. The Soviet Union is prepared to expand and deepen ties with Zimbabwe, all the more so since good political and legal foundations exist for so doing.

Satisfaction was expressed at the development of contacts between the two countries' supreme legislative organs, and it was stressed that the USSR Supreme Soviet will do everything possible to help to consolidate this process.

The Zimbabwean guests expressed gratitude for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded them. They stressed that their impressions of their stay in Moscow, Leningrad, and Soviet Moldavia had been bright and impressive. All this will be greatly conducive to the parliamentarians' work when they return to Harare.

The same day the Zimbabwe parliamentarian delegation met with A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities. Issues of mutual interest were discussed during a friendly talk.

The Zimbabwean parliamentarians met with journalists in the evening.

Parliamentarians Depart 13 Sep

PM1409154988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] A delegation from the Zimbabwean Parliament headed by N. Makombe, president of the Senate, left Moscow 13 September. It was in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Leadership Greets Ethiopia on Revolution Jubilee
PM1409105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from USSR leading bodies to Ethiopian leaders on revolution jubilee]

[Text] To Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia [WPE] and president of Ethiopia,

Comrade Fikre-Selassie Wodgeress, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and Ethiopian prime minister.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government cordially congratulate you, dear comrades, the WPE Central Committee, the State Council, the Ethiopian Council of Ministers, and the entire Ethiopian people on your official holiday—the 14th anniversary of the revolution.

The building of the new society chosen by the Ethiopian people 14 years ago is taking place under complex conditions amid a difficult struggle against forces trying to reverse the forward development of the Ethiopian revolution and to undermine the country's unity and territorial integrity. The Ethiopian people's success in state building, the socioeconomic and cultural renewal of its homeland, and the affirmation of the principles of people's power is especially weighty.

People in the Soviet Union are in sympathy with the efforts of Ethiopia's people aimed at transforming Ethiopian society in accordance with the aims of the national-democratic revolution. We are convinced that Ethiopian working people rallied around the WPE will overcome the difficulties that have arisen at the current crucial stage in the country's development.

In the international arena Ethiopia vigorously advocates the strengthening of peace and the peoples' security in the spirit of the principles of the new political thinking and the elimination of remnants of colonialism, racism, and apartheid on the African Continent, and takes an energetic and authoritative part in the general affairs of African countries.

We note with satisfaction the broadening and deepening of multifaceted Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation, which was given a new boost by the latest meeting between our countries' leaders in Moscow this July. We express confidence that the close ties of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia will grow stronger and develop in the future.

We wish the WPE Central Committee, the State Council, and the Ethiopian Council of Ministers success on the path of building a new society, peace, well-being, and prosperity for the friendly Ethiopian people.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Achievements of Ethiopian Regime Outlined
PM1409082988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "Ethiopia: The Revolution Continues"]

[Text] The Ethiopian people are currently marking two anniversaries at once—the 1st anniverary of the formation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the 14th anniversary of the revolution.

What was the country like 14 years ago? There was a backward feudal economy, including elements of capitalism, and almost complete illiteracy. There was low-productivity agriculture and a poorly developed industry which was concentrated in a handful of major cities. More than half the industrial enterprises were owned by foreign capital and their entire profit was exported abroad.

During the first years of the revolution the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia concentrated mainly on agrarian reform. In addition, profitable concerns, large enterprises, banks, and insurance companies were nationalized.

In its efforts to expand the socialist sector of the economy, the Ethiopian state is paying particular attention to the development of cooperatives, both production and consumer cooperatives, operating on a voluntary basis. However, this process is progressing slowly and with difficulty.

So far only 3 percent of peasants are members of production cooperatives.

It is impossible to assess the development of Ethiopian agriculture correctly without taking into account the deterioration of natural conditions in recent years. Not a year has passed without natural disasters affecting individual parts of the country. For present-day Ethiopia, achieving self-sufficiency in food production is declared the country's number one task. Programs to consolidate villages and resettle inhabitants in more favorable areas are being implemented.

Ethiopia's successes in the spheres of health care and education are undeniable. The nationwide campaign to eliminate illiteracy that was launched 9 years ago is also producing tangible results. The number of people who cannot read or write has been reduced to 34 percent.

Ethiopia's foreign policy enjoys prestige in the international arena. Its main principles are loyalty to the cause of peace, strengthening relations with neighboring states, and respect for the national dignity and sovereignty of all peoples.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Zaykov Visit to Bulgaria

13 Sep Activities Noted

PM1509100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings on Bulgarian Soil"]

[Text] Sofia, 13 Sep—The working visit to Bulgaria by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, continued today with cordial meetings with Communists and working people from the Bulgarian capital.

The Soviet visitor visited the capital's "Serdika" Commune, which bears the ancient name of the Bulgarian capital. This is one of Sofia's 24 new administrative-territorial units set up with a view to improving the management of socioeconomic processes in people's interests. Dozens of major industrial enterprises, research institutes, and experimental production units are concentrated here. One-eighth of the total output manufactured by the city's industry is created on the commune's territory. A considerable proportion of this is exported, above all to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

S. Splavcheva, first secretary of the BCP commune committee, talked about improving the management structure, whose center of gravity is shifting to labor collectives and organs of people's power, and about certain problems linked with the technological renewal of production and the local infrastructure. She pointed out that the rights and obligations of the commune—which now has its own budget and elaborates and implements its development strategy—are increasing in accordance with the concept of restructuring.

"Serdika" maintains partnership ties with Moscow's Kuybyshevskiy Rayon. There are as yet many untapped reserves here, and the commune's leadership has prepared a number of interesting proposals for the development of direct ties with the Soviet capital's enterprises and organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about the experience of collaboration between the commune and organizations under departmental jurisdiction and of financing projects for developing the social sphere, as well as about the separation of functions of party, state, and economic organs.

Workers and employees from the Vylcho Ivanov Hosiery Factory cordially greeted the visitor. This factory is a modern enterprise equipped with the latest knitting machines and controlled microprocessor systems. It produces various items of hosiery that are in great demand on the domestic market.

L.N. Zaykov visited the enterprise's workshops. A warm conversation took place with workers in the course of which the conversation turned to the experience of self-management accumulated here and to the resolution of the collective's labor, living, and recreation questions and the development of the lease contract orienting working people to attain high end results. They examined results of the Sofia factory's cooperation with Soviet partners and also the plans for setting up a joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprise with a capacity of up to 6 million pairs of tights per year.

The meeting with leaders from the "Industry for Man" Association—one of the fundamentally new associations of enterprises created in Bulgaria instead of a number of ministries—was businesslike and interesting. This association is made up of approximately 400 self-managing economic and other organizations specializing in the development, production, and sale of many types of consumer goods.

The visit to the central department store and to a number of other trading facilities in the center of the Bulgarian capital were an extension of the conversation that took place. Special attention was devoted to progressive forms of organizing trade, public catering, and consumer services for working people.

In the second half of the day L.N. Zaykov met at the USSR Embassy in Bulgaria with workers at Soviet establishments and specialists working in Bulgaria. He dwelt on key tasks to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and also to improve forms of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation.

In the evening the Soviet visitor was acquainted with the work of the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia and attended a folk program.

Video Coverage of Visit

LD1409104988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; D. Golovanov report from Bulgaria]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Zaykov's working visit to Bulgaria is continuing. Here now is a report by our correspondent:

[Begin Golovanov recording] In Bulgaria, the new administrative separation policy, for which communities provide the basis, has been in operation for a year. [video shows glass fronted entrance to a community committee

of the Bulgarian Communist Party, then shots of Zaykov getting out of a car and shaking hands with a number of officials] In Sophia, there are 24 of them. Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov paid a visit to one of them.

The first secretary of the community of the Bulgarian Communist Party, (Snezhana Slavchina), spoke of the difficulties in the economic and social life of the community and about shortcomings in the infrastructure. It is with just such a matter that the committee of the party and the People's Council is involved. [video shows Zaykov attending a meeting, seated at a long table with hosts seated opposite]

In the afternoon, Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov and other guests from Moscow were warmly welcomed by the collective of the Vulcho Ivanov stocking factory. The factory produces high quality output. Talks are now being conducted on setting up a joint venture in Moldavia. Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov met with leaders of the Industry for Man association in the factory's display hall. He was shown an exhibition of wares from enterprises belonging to the association. [video shows Zaykov being accompanied around the stocking factory looking at equipment and talking with staff]

Today ended with a visit to the Central Universal Stores in Sofia and familiarization with the main shopping thoroughfare of the capital, Vitosa Boulevard. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the USSR Embassy in the Bulgarian People's Republic, Comrade Zaykov met with workers of Soviet establishments and specialists working in Bulgaria.

CSSR's Husak Stops in Moscow, Meets Gromyko

LD1309041288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—Andrey Gromyko had a meeting at Vnukovo Airport today with Gustav Husak, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovakia, who made a brief stopover in Moscow on his way home after official friendly visits to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Gromyko and Husak had a friendly conversation which included discussion of some issues of mutual interest.

The meeting passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Taking part in the conversation were G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet; G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and the following who are accompanying the CSSR president on his trip: Jaromir Obzina and Peter Colotka, deputy chairmen of the CSSR Government; Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; and Jiri Nemec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade. Also present was Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

Television Interview With PZPR's Rakowski

LD1409230888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1912 GMT 14 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver; interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Warsaw correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov; date and place not given—live or recorded; Rakowski remarks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Ulyanov] Is it possible to consider the present situation in Poland as a political crisis? If this is so, then what are its causes and what is the way out of this situation?

[Rakowski] In my view this is, of course, a political crisis which has an economic base appearing as early as the beginning of the eighties. And it is on this economic basis that incidents of various kinds which reflect people's dissatisfaction are arising in Poland. This is one of the causes of the crisis. The second cause has to be seen in the fact that our political opponents—the opposition—are playing—both in the past and now—on the tension in the sphere of economics. And lastly, the third cause in my opinion lies in the lowering of confidence in our policy among various public groups, including those people who are engaged in industry and in the sphere of the national economy.

It must be admitted that there were quite a few reasons for this, because a whole number of just demands of the working people was not being met in a timely manner. And many of our cadres workers did not manage to learn the lessons from the 1980-81 period. This also further promoted the present explosion. The tense relations which have developed at the present time between the government and our trade unions have become an expression of this political crisis. As you already know, they demanded the resignation of the government and suggested to the Sejm deputies and the trade union members that they express no confidence in the government. There is no doubt that this is a very significant event which also reflects the political crisis which has arisen in Poland. You ask about ways of getting out of it. First and foremost we must remove from our life all those causes which bring about the aforementioned lowering of confidence and which open up the path for action against the opponent. This is the first step and it requires enormous efforts by the party and state leadership as well as by all party organizations. And the second step, which has great importance for the situation that has developed in Poland, is the adoption of all possible measures to achieve national concord, for broadening

the basis of cooperation with the aim of implementing those profound reforms, which concern the economy, the social sphere, and political life and which were planned as early as in 1981.

[Ulyanov] Comrade Rakowski, it is several days since we returned from Jastrzebie. We visited two mines where strikes were held. We spoke to many people. It is perceptible that the leadership and the PZPR members have a definite inspiration and one feels that there is a great satisfaction with the decisions of the eighth plenum of your party's Central Committee. But all the same, one has a perception of uncertainty in tomorrow. How can you explain this?

[Rakowski] The lack of confidence in the fact that these decisions will be implemented is, in essence, a part of this political crisis about which we have only just spoken. The point is that our party suffered considerable losses in 1981, in the period of martial law. Having gone through a difficult situation in the years 1982, 1983, and 1984—it is sufficient to recall the demonstrations and disturbances in the streets—the party turned out to be considerably weakened. And the consequences of these events are showing themselves even today. In other words, one could say that we have still not completely consolidated ourselves. Hence, it is frequently possible to see the lack of activity or party organizations; it is possible to hear accusations of inconsistency of the party leadership. In reply to this we are trying to be consistent, although compromises in political life are inevitable.

On the other hand, the best possible policy carried out by the party leadership is not capable of changing the situation if there is no corresponding activity by rank-and-file party members.

[Ulyanov] The next question which I would like to put to you has already been partially answered by you. But all the same, here goes: When meeting with people, with Polish people of the most varied social position, one can often hear dissatisfaction with the economic situation. Everybody wants to live better. But one seldom hears what it is that man is going to do, what should be done in order to improve the economic situation.

[Rakowski] A mood of parasitism [natroyeniya izhdivenchestva] has taken root in our society in the last few years, which was to a considerable extent generated by the year 1981 under the influence of Solidarity slogans. This philosophy of parasitism has been preserved to this day, undoubtedly not in all groups of society because there are in Poland quite a few detachments of the working class which are working perfectly well and whose earnings are not bad. But the so-called philosophy of myths is spread in our country. From the viewpoint of its supporters everything in our country is very bad. I personally think that the way out from this situation of expectation, when someone has to provide something, can only be consistent implementation of the economic reform. There is simply no other way out.

[Ulyanov] Western mass media write with sympathy about the strikes in Poland. They see in this the fiasco of official policy and they forecast difficulties for the Soviet Union in future relations with Poland. What is your view with regard to these predictions?

[Rakowski] The fact that they write with sympathy is understandable because they are interested in seeing that the hotbed of tension is not extinguished in our country, that Poland should be, so to speak, the underbelly of the Soviet Union. As far as the other aspect of the question is concerned, then it is, of course, impossible to say that the events which are under way in Poland are helping the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union. And this distresses me very much. After all, restructuring is a revolution in the methods of management of national economy, ways of thinking, which brings it up to the category of historical phenomenon.

And as any new political line of this kind, which proceeds from lasting traditions of the people, the restructuring has its supporters and its opponents. These opponents are not always from the enemy camp. Frequently they turn out to be people who are not willing to part with that which has become permanent and customary. Meanwhile, we are convinced that the restructuring is the only path which leads to the renewal of socialism and to the creation of a society which is attractive for all. In the process of restructuring, all that is valuable in socialism as a new social system will be crystallized.

I would like to say in conclusion that we have to do everything in order not to have such disturbances in our country, so that we will not harm the great cause of historical scale which has unleashed itself in the Soviet Union.

[Ulyanov] Thank you very much for the discussion.

Poland's Cardinal Glemp Visits Belorussia

LD0709233388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Minsk, 7 Sep (TASS)—Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, who is in Belorussia on a visit, today continued his familiarization with the republic. Arriving in Minsk, Jozef Glemp and those accompanying him visited the Holy Ghost Cathedral of the Julian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church of the Holy Cross, and they laid flowers at the obelisk erected to honor the liberation of the Belorussian capital from the fascist aggressors.

The guest from Poland visited the exhibition of the Belorussian state museum of the history of the Great Fatherland War where tens of thousands of exhibits and documents are gathered. More then 2,000,000 inhabitants of Belorussia—a quarter of the republic's total population—became victims of Hitler's invasion during the years of the war. Cardinal Glemp signed the museum's honored visitors' book.

The Minsk eparchial administration of the Russian Orthodox Church gave a reception in honor of the delegation of the Polish clergy.

In a TASS interview Cardinal Glemp said that his impression of the trip to Belorussia "had exceeded all expectations." "I have been given," he said, "sincere hospitality. The local authorities showed great concern for us. We had the opportunity to evaluate the genuine goodwill of the Orthodox Church officials and to get to know your region better."

Cardinal Glemp noted the usefulness of such contact which, in his words, "can be included among the things of value which restructuring has brought into our life." The cardinal said that it was possible to have an optimistic view of the prospects for relations in spite of the multitude of problems inherited from the past. "But today we live in times," he said, "when the emphasis should be placed elsewhere. Cooperation between countries should be constructed on principles of peace and humanism."

Today the guest visited the ancient Belorussian towns of Nesvizh, Pinsk, and Brest; looked around the architectural monuments; and visited the local Catholic and Orthodox churches. In Pinsk the cardinal celebrated a mass in the Uspenskiy cathedral. Addressing the parishioners, he spoke of the necessity for all-around efforts to strengthen peace and mutual understanding between peoples.

In Brest the guest visited the memorial complex to the defenders of the Brest fortress who in 1941 were the first to take on the fascist attack and for 1-and-1/2 months maintained a heroic defense. Cardinal Glemp laid flowers at the eternal flame of the memorial.

In the evening he left for home.

On his trip around the republic the cardinal was accompanied by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia and representatives of the Catholic and Orthodox clergy.

Nikonov, Orlov Sign GDR Book of Condolences

LD1209175088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Nikonov and Comrade Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials paid a visit to the GDR Embassy in Moscow today in connection with the death of Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and signed the book of condolences.

Hungarian-South Korean Move Shows 'Openness'

LD1409130988 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest September 13 TASS—Hungary's steps towards a rapprochement with South Korea are part of its policy of openness and the Hungarian Government believes that they will help sustain dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul and ease tension between them, a Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news conference here today.

At the national party conference in Hungary last May, he said, stress was made on the need to take account of realities, continue social and economic reform, show greater openness in relations with the outside world and become more closely involved in the international division of labor.

The Hungarian Government is convinced that the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states with different social systems is of decisive significance to furthering positive processes and making them irreversible, the spokesman continued.

Hungary will keep supporting constructive proposals for a peaceful reunification of Korea and the Hungarian Government is convinced that the opening of a permanent mission in South Korea will facilitate more effective participation by Hungary in this process, the spokesman said.

RCP Political Executive Committee Meets 13 Sep

PM1509085388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 p 1

[TASS report: "RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep—The Romanian papers report a 13 September session of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee chaired by RCP Secretary General N. Ceausescu.

Attention was drawn to the need to ensure a more even production process, particularly at the beginning of each month. It was deemed necessary to elaborate a special program to ensure quality in machine building. Additional measures were outlined on implementing targets in coal and oil extraction, power generation, and other spheres.

The Political Executive Committee analyzed some questions pertaining to the international activity of the RCP and the Romanian state. In particular, the program for Romania's participation in the 43d session of the UN General Assembly was approved.

Soviet Performance at Leipzig Trade Fair Viewed

PM1509083188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch: "Leipzig Fair"]

[Text] Berlin—The latest fall trade fair in Leipzig is over. Our firms and foreign trading organizations did well—winning 18 medals. However, medals were by no means the main result of the fair. What was trade like in Leipzig? I put that question to V. Ryabchuk, commercial director of the Soviet exhibit.

We have signed contracts worth R2.8 billion with the GDR alone, he said. Here are some of them. Next year the GDR will supply clothing, knitwear, footwear, leather notions, baby carriages, musical instruments, and other consumer goods worth more than R450 million in transfer rubles. Seven "ro-ro" ships were also ordered and printing equipment bought. In turn, the Soviet side sold two Il-62M aircraft, 17,500 cars—mainly VAZ brand—rolled steel, cast iron, ferro-alloys, and other output.

A distinctive feature of recent Soviet exhibits is the appearance on the international market of new foreign trade organizations and firms. The "Fond" cooperative was even represented at the current autumn exhibition. This process itself inspires optimism, but the real returns from it have as yet been small.

Excellent medical equipment patented in many countries and protected by inventors' certificates came from Kiev—and the commercial result was zero. As it was for a cooperative exhibiting attractive wooden articles. "Fond" took away, alas, just what it had brought with it.

The reason for this ineffective work clearly lies in the fact that new people who have recently entered the foreign trade sphere often have a very poor idea of just what business is. Take the medical equipment. Had letters, plans, or—a particularly good idea—responses from prestigious Soviet medical institutes been sent out to all the main clinics in the GDR 6 months before Leipzig, I think that the Kiev managers' order books would have been bursting with orders. On the eve of trade fairs Western firms literally inundate trade missions of the USSR—and clearly other countries too—with such messages. They contain all the necessary information, including diagrams, on how to get to such and such a stand.

Judging by everything, there is an urgent need to reform not just foreign trade but also labor-intensive work such as the system of organizing Soviet exhibits at foreign trade fairs. Previously trade fairs, fulfilling often only a propaganda function, were set up by administrative methods. But now things have gotten to the point where nobody can tell a plant what to display or whether it should attend a fair at all. We need powerful economic incentives which would force our industrial managers to enter the foreign market with quality products.

There are many questions in this connection, but they will have to be answered. We may not get ahead of the game, but we should at least catch up with it. Firms which want to gain a good reputation should not only offer competitive goods but also do solid commercial work.

Jakes 15 Aug Visit to Leningrad Reported

WA18000655A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 p 1

[Article published by LENTASS: "The Visit of M. Jakes to Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad has been visited by the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Milos Jakes.

A talk was held yesterday in Smolnyy. The Secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, A.M. Fateyev, described to the guest the main areas in the activities of the Leningrad party organization aimed at successfully carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. This work is being carried out under conditions of occurring changes, democratization and glasnost.

It was pointed out that at present the practical stage has begun in carrying out the ideas of restructuring. The Leningraders, in particular, have revised upwards the control figures of the 5-year plan. In the course of implementing the territorial-sectorial program Intensification-90, an acceleration was achieved in the growth rates of production and labor productivity. The reduced allocations for capital construction made it possible to channel the released funds into modernizing production and for sociocultural purposes. Great attention has been given to the economic and social development of the city and oblast and to resolving ecological problems.

Milos Jakes emphasized that Czechoslovakia has entered a crucial period of socialist construction involving restructuring and the deepening of socialist democracy. For precisely this reason, the CSSR has shown great interest in the restructuring in the Soviet Union. The scale and pace of the changes as well as the forms and methods of achieving the set goals coincide in the CSSR and the USSR. This opens up favorable opportunities for a further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in various areas. In considering the particular features of each country, the guest said, it is essential to carry out together the common problems confronting our parties and states.

In the course of the talk, they also discussed the questions of further strengthening bilateral relations on the basis of employing new forms of economic collaboration, including the establishing of direct ties and the setting up of joint enterprises.

Participating in the talk were the secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom, T.V. Zakharova, and the sector head from a section of the CPSU Central Committee, V.A. Svetlov, who was accompanying the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on the trip to Leningrad.

Also present at the talk was the consul general of the CSSR in Leningrad, Miroslav Pleskac.

At Smolnyy, Milos Jakes reviewed the memorial Museum of V.I. Lenin. He placed flowers before the monument to the leader in the historic building.

At the Piskarev Memorial Cemetery, the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee paid homage to the memory of the Leningraders and soldiers who fell in the years of the Great Patriotic War and laid flowers before the monument to the Motherland. Milos Jakes visited the cruiser "Avrora" and the Peter and Paul Fortress, he viewed the art collection of the Hermitage and the museum house of I.Ye. Repin "Penaty" and made a trip to Razliv and Petrodvorets.

In the evening the guest attended a performance of "Esmeralda" at the Academy Malyy Opera and Ballet Theater.

West Europe

Mock Terms Talks 'Constructive, Friendly'

LD1409094088 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—The Soviet-Austrian Moscow negotiations were held in a "good, constructive and friendly" atmosphere. This was stated at a press conference, held here today, by vice-chancellor, foreign minister of the Republic of Austria, Alois Mock.

An intensive exchange of opinions was held on questions of development of the situation in the international scene. Discussed were problems of the U.N. activities, including the significance of the U.N. peace-keeping operations. Special attention was paid to a possibility of successful completion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said the foreign minister. In the course of the negotiations Alois Mock said his country was interested in the early completion of that meeting, mentioning October-early November as the possible date.

Identity of views was reached on many questions at Moscow negotiations, but difference in positions was not dramatized, said Alois Mock.

Austria's foreign minister noted the Soviet Government's positive attitude to Vienna as the venue for two conferences—on conventional armaments and confidence-building measures. The USSR, he told journalists, also positively regards Austria as the place for the headquarters of a control agency in case the convention on elimination of nuclear weapons is concluded.

Alois Mock underlined the successful development of his country's relations with East European states. He said: "Austria's permanent neutrality is not only a major component part of the European post-war set-up but also gives us in the new time, the time of deepening East-West relations, additional possibilities for being the place of the dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe".

Austrian Trade Union Delegation in Moscow

PM1309081188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] Talks between a delegation of the Austrian Trade Union Federation [OeGB], headed by F. Verzetnisch, chairman of the OeGB, and an AUCCTU delegation headed by its chairman, S.A. Shalayev, were held at the AUCCTU on 9 September.

An exchange of information took place about the socioeconomic position of the working people in the USSR and Austria and about the main spheres of the activity of the two countries' trade unions.

The representatives of the Austrian trade union center showed particular interest in the processes taking place in the Soviet Union within the framework of political and socioeconomic change. They were briefed in detail on the results of our country's socioeconomic development during the years of restructuring and about the Soviet trade unions' role and main spheres of activity in the implementation of the radical economic reform.

Questions of international and bilateral trade union cooperation were also discussed at the talks.

On the same day the guests from Austria visited the "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod imeni S. Ordzhonikidze" production association.

Yesterday the OeGB delegation left for Kiev.

Joint Communique Adopted

PM1309132588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Cooperation Is Developing"]

[Text] A delegation from the Austrian Trade Union Federation [OeGB] headed by F. Verzetnisch, its chairman, was in the USSR at the invitation of the AUCCTU 8-11 September. The delegation included the folllowing: H. Tumpel, leading secretary of the OeGB; A. Hofer, chairman of the OeGB trade union leftist bloc faction; and K.-H. Nachtnebel, chief of the OeGB international department.

Aside from Moscow, the Austrian trade union delegation visited the Ukrainian SSR and industrial enterprises and scientific establishments and was familiarized with Soviet working people's working and living conditions, the activity of Soviet trade unions, and the course of the restructuring of the public, economic, and social life of Soviet society.

Talks were held between the OeGB delegation and a Soviet trade union delegation headed by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU. The two sides exchanged information on the domestic, economic, and social situation in the USSR and Austria and discussed questions of bilateral and European trade union cooperation.

Mutual profound satisfaction was expressed at the positive processes under way in the world. The most important of these is indisputably the entry into force of and incipient implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Soviet and Austrian trade unions fully support such results of the "new political thinking" and advocate the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

The sides expressed satisfaction in connection with the incipient process of resolving regional conflicts.

The joint communique which was adopted points out that the representatives of both trade union centers are united in the belief that trade unions—as one of the most influential political forces—will continue the struggle for peace and universal disarmament. The funds and forces released as a result of disarmament must be urgently channeled toward eliminating poverty, hunger, and social injustice. Supporting the development of the processes of all-European cooperation, the USSR and Austrian trade unions advocated deepening broad trade union dialogue as an important factor for strengthening mutual understanding and trust between Europe's trade unions and working people. This dialogue must help to implement the concept of "a common European home."

Satisfaction was expressed with the development of bilateral cooperation between USSR and Austrian trade unions. Their representatives, the communique points out, have agreed to make broader use in the future of such forms of cooperation as seminars on subjects of mutual interest, including problems of scientific and technical progress, ecology, women, and young people, and exchanges of specialized delegations to study trade union work in the sphere of labor protection, social security, vocational training for young people, and the work of trade unions among working women.

An accord was reached on promoting the further development of businesslike contacts between trade union schools, scientific centers, related sector and territorial trade union organizations, and individual enterprise collectives.

The AUCCTU and the OeGB supported the comprehensive development of cooperation between the USSR and Austria in the sphere of the economy, science, and culture. This cooperation conforms with the interests of the peoples of both countries and ensures peace in Europe.

The OeGB leadership invited an AUCCTU delegation to pay a reciprocal visit to Austria. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

USSR, UK Sign Customs Memorandum

LD1309111688 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] London September 12 TASS—Soviet-British cooperation has spread to one more important area—the fighting against international drug smuggling.

The Main State Customs Control Directorate of the USSR Council of Ministers and the authorities customs of the United Kingdom have signed here a memorandum on mutual understanding in combatting the unlawful turnover of drugs and psychotropic agents.

The document was signed by Vitaliy Boyarov, first deputy head of the Customs Control Directorate, and the authorities customs' chief John Unwin.

The memorandum provides for cooperation of the customs services in both countries in preventing, investigating and curbing the illegal turnover of drugs. The document also provides for exchanges of methods of combatting unlawful drug trafficking, including the use of the latest technology and specially trained dogs.

"This is the first such agreement concluded by the Soviet customs service with Western colleagues", Boyarov said. "We are sure that efforts exerted by indivudual countries are not enough to combat such an evil as drug addiciton. All countries should pool their efforts. In the past 18 months we have proved in deed that we are ready for

such cooperation. More than three tons of contraband drugs were confiscated by Soviet and British customers last April as a result of the joint operation, codenamed Diplomat."

John Unwin said the memorandum had come as a direct result of broadening cooperation between the two countries, which was stepped up by the recent Soviet-British summits.

Unwin stressed that British customs officers, who had always had excellent cooperation with Soviet counterparts, now had a working document reflecting all the aspects of the joint activity in curbing drug smuggling.

Moscow Paper Interviews George Blake
PM1409141588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Sep 88 p 4

[Report on interview with George Blake by Viktor Andriyanov at the editorial office: "George Blake: 'I Chose the USSR'"; date not given—first eight paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] On at least three occasions the name of this man has been front-page news in the world's leading newspapers. The first time was in 1961, when he was arrested by British counterintelligence.

THE NEW YORK TIMES: "At secret talks with the Government of the FRG the Western allies were coordinating their positions for the discussion with Moscow. In all probability, the West's memorandums, plans, strategic moves, and projects were in Soviet hands before the conferences began...."

THE HERALD TRIBUNE: "Blake obtained information on each plan, each tactical move, and all projects that the West was formulating in connection with the problem of Berlin and Germany. In the future it will be worthwhile for the United States to be considerably more cautious where Britain is concerned, particularly when it comes to state and military secrets...."

DIE TAG: "Clearly, Blake succeeded in exposing the entire British espionage network operating on the territory of the East European countries."

Seven years later a sensation was caused by Blake's escape from London's Wormwood Scrubs prison and his disappearance.

Another 3 years passed, and again the screaming banner headlines on the front pages: Blake in Moscow. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awards the Order of Lenin to an outstanding Soviet intelligence officer.

And there was another spate of articles when operation "Gold" came to light, one of the biggest operations by the Western special services exposed by Blake. But at that time it was still not possible to reveal his name. Of the many descriptions of Blake I will cite just one—the most telling, maybe—given by G.T. Lonsdale (K.T. Molodoy). It is cited by V. Arganovskiy in the documentary "Profession: Foreigner": "The renowned Blake, who for many years worked for us without receiving a penny, is an extreme rarity. He is simply an intelligent man: He analyzed the situation in the world, determined the sources of this situation and the prospects for the future, and then—having decided that our policy was more just—took the carefully weighed decision to help us."

The other day George Blake called in at the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA editorial offices. Before beginning my conversation with him I will recall the finale of operation "Gold" on the basis of press reports of the time....

...An April night in 1956. As always when their shift comes around, the four specially trained operatives of U.S. military intelligence take their seats at apparatuses connected up with government and military lines of communication in the GDR. For them, their stint in the well-equipped "rat hole" had become a completely normal business. They feel as if they are manning their posts at headquarters or with their unit. The uneasiness which would not leave them alone in the first days and weeks of this "great affair" was long gone. The equipment works excellently, and the operators can relax and even share a joke. The most popular joke is: What would the Reds say if they knew that all their secret conversations were being monitored. But on this occasion the joke had a quite unexpected ending.

At 0200 hours, from the opposite side of the tunnel, the GDR side, voices are suddenly heard. For a few moments the Americans were unable even to make a move. Then they were seized by panic. Fear, as they say, hath a hundred eyes: In saving themselves the operators forgot the dread command—destroy all the equipment in the event of an emergency. All four were driven by the fear of being detained at the scene of the crime. They made a run for it, praying to God only that they would manage to get out.... On the American side of the tunnel, at the barbed wire and sandbag barricades, they got their breath back.

Difficult times had arrived for U.S. staffs and politicians. Regardless of the millions buried in the ground, the United States does not dare acknowledge the tunnel to be its own.

The exposure of operation "Gold" throws Western intelligence centers into disarray. One of the CIA's most secret operations since World War II had come to light. Clearly, Soviet intelligence would have been informed by a person occupying a sufficiently high position in U.S. or British intelligence.

[Andriyanov] What were you doing at that time, George?

[Blake] At that time, in the context of the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), I directed Great Britain's agent network in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. By virtue of my official position I knew about operation "Gold" from the very beginning. It had been conceived on the American scale. Money was no object. Absolute secrecy, a lot of money, and the modern equipment provided by the British would, it seemed, guarantee success. Listening in to the lines of communication would give the Americans and the British so much information that a specially established department would require 10 years to decipher and process all the tapes.

I mention this in order to give an idea of the volume of intercepts. Of course, not everything was recorded and decoded. There was a selection process. Knowing about this, for 18 months the Soviet side "didn't notice" the information leak. Following this, some malfunction in the communications channels was "discovered" very skillfully—by chance, as it were. This was traced to the hookup. This was done so well, so skillfully, that even a special CIA and SIS commission came to the conclusion that it had been mere chance. At that time I was working in West Berlin, so understand how important this "chance," this "happenstance," was for me.

[Andriyanov] In 1966, following your celebrated escape from London's Wormwood Scrubs, you seemed to vanish into thin air, as the British press wrote at the time. Is it possible now, some 20 years later, to say where in fact you disappeared to?

[Blake] For the first 4 days following my escape I lived literally 5 minutes' walk from the prison, in a previously prepared apartment....

[Andriyanov] And—as was later recalled by your comrade Sean Burke—you watched television. Interrupting programs, Scotland Yard showed a 12-year-old photograph of you...

[Blake] Later the programs were interupted again—a picture taken in June 1965 had been discovered in the prison files. In this picture I was clean shaven and completely unlike the first photograph of me....

A few days later I moved to another apartment a little farther away. I hid there for 3 months and then, concealed in a minibus, I got out of Britain. In Berlin, at the GDR border post, I asked to be put through to the Soviet representative. Shortly after this I was in Moscow. [Blake ends]

Let us recall the wave of sensations which gripped the British press during those days. THE TIMES, 25 October 1966: "It is most likely that Blake used a private airplane to fly to Ireland. He is in hiding there and awaiting the moment when he can contiunue his road to Russia." DAILY EXPRESS: "Blake hid on the Polish ship 'Batory'." EVENING STANDARD: "Blake went via Belgium to Berlin, and from there to Prague and Moscow. The entire operation was supported by Czechoslovak intelligence." EVENING NEWS: "Blake is in the Soviet Embassy and will be leaving the country under a disguise." DAILY MIRROR, 27 October 1966: "Blake has been in South America for some time and is waiting for a suitable moment to go to Russia."

[Andriyanov] In 1970 the world learned that you were in Moscow and had been awarded the Order of Lenin. Tell us, please, Comrade Blake, what happened next, for that was 18 years ago.

[Blake] I believe my life has panned out successfully. True, the first job I did in Moscow didn't suit me very much because it involved working at home, and there wasn't enough contact with people. I was soon offered a job in a collective. Surrounded by interesting, pleasant people, I am still working with them to this day. I am glad to have been able to get to know ordinary people and to have acquired many friends—both through my wife and through my son.

In winter we go skiing together every Saturday and Sunday; we try to be outdoors as much as possible. I am a great nature lover. I like to read and to listen to classical music—Handel, Bach, the music of the 17th-18th centuries. I take great pleasure in going to the theater, especially for the Russian classics—Gogol, Ostrovskiy.

I want to say something else: I have experienced for myself the cordiality and hospitality of the Russian people. Your people treat the foreigners resident among them with warmth, sincerity, and tact. This friendliness makes life a lot easier, and it has helped me marvelously to settle down among Soviet people.

[Andriyanov] How did you, a trained British intelligence officer, arrive at the most important choice of your life?

[Blake] It is very difficult to give a short answer to this question. But I will try.

I was born in the Netherlands, and my mother was Dutch and my father British. I received a religious education and in my young years I was extremely devout and even wanted to become a Protestant minister. Then came the war and occupation. I got in touch with the undergound. In 1942, to evade arrest, I fled via France and Spain to England, where I served in the Navy, in intelligence. My views on life were gradualy changing—especially my attitude toward religion.

After the war the entire activity of the British special services was targeted against the Soviet Union as the likely adversary. I was sent to Cambridge to study the Russian language and Russian history.

Naturally, during the war I, like other antifascists, admired the heroic struggle of the Soviet people. Yet at the same time we feared communism.

In this connection I recall one episode typical of the atmosphere of the time. When in the winter of 1942 Soviet troops went onto the offensive, a signboard appeared on the Netherlands-German border. It said: "Halt, Timoshenko, the Netherlands starts here." That was the attitude toward the Soviet Union at that time, and it was my attitude too.

In Cambridge we were taught Russian language and literature by a woman who came from a family of Petersburg English. From time immemorial generation upon generation of English traders had lived in Petersburg; her father was from that environment and her mother was Russian. She inspired in us students an interest in Russia, in Russian art and history. This was one important factor.

And here is the second. My training program as an intelligence officer, a British intelligence officer, included study of the classics of Marxsm-Leninism. I read Marx, Engels, and Lenin and arrived at the conviction that this teaching was not as bad as people made it out to be, that the communists wished to create a realm of justice where all people are equal and where there are neither rich nor poor. To create not via miracles, like Christ, but by their own toil, by their own hands. And that it was the Russian people, the Soviet people, who had set about doing this. Thus I arrived at the idea that it is necessary to help the Soviet Union in its great goal, not impede it, because this is a matter of enormous importance not only for the Soviet Union but for all mankind. This was my basic thought. Naturally, it was a very difficult decision, as you can imagine. There is the country you live in, there are one's relations who will suffer. But all in all I decided that the general interest is above the national or the persoal interest, and ultimately this is a blessing for national interests also. So I came to the conviction that I should establish contact with the Soviet side. This was in 1953; it was then that I began in practice to work for the Soviet Union.

[Andriyanov] After the war in Korea?

[Blake] Yes.

[Andriyanov] I was there just recently; I am very fond of the country and the people. How much they endured during a war about which, unfortunately, they now know so little....

[Blake] All that I have told you now crystallized during the Korean War. I saw American bombers literally wipe Korean villages and towns from the face of the earth. The devastation there was much greater than during World War II in Germany. As a Westerner I also experienced my own guilt—and this feeling was shared by many of those around me—guilt at the fact that such mighty technology was being utilized against peaceful inhabitants. "Flying Fortresses" against peasant homes. People dug holes and caves; it was terrible to witness their sufferings. And I asked myself: What do we need in this country? Why am I here? What do I stand for? On whose side should I be fighting?

[Andriyanov] Your happiest day?

[Blake] Oh! My happiest day. (he laughs) The happiest days of my life—during the world war, during the war in Korea, and after my escape—were when I was able to meet with my mother and sisters. These were very happy days for me.

[Andriyanov] After your escape? You mean she has been to Moscow?

[Blake] Indeed, she has been in Moscow a few times.

[Andriyanov] And your bitterest days?

[Blake] The most difficult times were the arrests and the captivity in Korea. This has also happened several times in my life. (laughs) My wife always compares me with one of the heroes in "The Golden Calf" who was imprisoned under all regimes....

[Andriyanov] Funt?

[Blake] Yes, he was imprisoned under different emperors, and I in different countries. Under the Germans, the Spanish, the Koreans, the British. In total I have spent 9 years of my life in prisons....

[Andriyanov] When the British court sentenced you to 42 years detention, did you believe that you would get your freedom?

[Blake] When I heard about the 42 years in prison I smiled. This term seemed so improbable, so much could happen during these years, that I considered it simply unreal. If I had been sentenced to 14-15 years, that would have made a greater impression on me than 42 years. And of course, such a lengthy term is the best incentive to...

[Andriyanov] ...try to shorten it.

[Blake] Precisely. This sentence, the biggest in the entire history of British justice, resulted in the fact that many people inside and outside prison felt sympathetic and compassionate toward me. Therefore I managed to escape. The sentence itself contained within it the seed of liberation.

[Andriyanov] Did you do all this with your own hands?

[Blake] Even today it is not possible to say everything about who assisted me. There were also other people aside from Sean Burke.

[Andriyanov] Which events of your biography do you recall most often?

[Blake] I don't give too much thought to the past, I have enough present-day concerns. But when a free hour comes along, I interest myself in the story of the Resistance, particularly in the Netherlands. I read about that time with interest, and I recall how people thirsted for freedom, how they literally devoured the news from the front lines, how they waited for the fascist empire to crumble....

[Andriyanov] Many countries and many peoples have passed through your life. From each of them you have tried to take the very best....

[Blake] My experience of life among different people convinces me: External differences are no more than a thin layer, and all peoples, all people, are essentially identical. This is my profound conviction. It is possible to find a common language with another person in any country if you understand that this person is like yourself. I have also formed the opinion that women represent the best part of each people.

Life has given me many fine friends. I will name one of them—Donald Maclean; before his flight to the USSR in 1951 he was in charge of the American department in the British Foreign Office. I believe he was a real communist.

Maclean devoted his life to serving the Soviet Union and communism. He was distinguished by the very highest morality. If communists had saints, he would be one of them. Uncommon kindness, a sympathetic nature, and consideration combined to create a wonderful character, a remarkable individual. He was also a major scholar. And I always nurtured the very greatest respect for him.

[Andriyanov] Wouldn't you like to write a book about yourself?

[Blake] I am thinking about this.

[Andriyanov] Let's make a deal: When you write it we will publish the first chapters in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA.

[Blake] Agreed.

Ryzhkov Receives Former Maltese Premier

LD1409165288 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received today Dominic Mintoff, former prime minister of Malta, a member of Parliament from the Labour Party, at his request. Mintoff is now resting in the Soviet Union.

During their conversation they exchanged opinions on questions of bilateral Soviet-Maltese relations and on some of the topical international issues.

Both sides noted the key importance of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states, and of improving the atmosphere of trust and dialogue. Presenting the Soviet position on questions of the Mediterranean region, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that the positive processes in Europe must also be extended to that region as well so that it could move in the direction of detente and of reduced levels of military confrontation and so that the Mediterranean Sea became an area of stable peace and cooperation. Ryzhkov expressed his appreciation to the Labour Party of Malta for its support of the Soviet proposals aimed at ensuring peace and security in the area.

Dominic Mintoff was interested in the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union, its individual aspects which are also of importance for the further development of the trade and economic relations between the USSR and Malta.

The sides expressed reciprocal interest in furthering the mutually advantageous economic relations between the Soviet Union and Malta, and noted the existence of favourable conditions for this.

Afanasyev Attends L'HUMANITE Festival

PM1409153888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondents V. Bolshakov and O. Meshkov report under the general heading "Festivities Over"]

[Excerpts] Paris—A fine tradition of French Communists is that the entire party Central Committee takes the large stage at the L'HUMANITE festival to meet with their comrades in struggle. It is from this rostrum that each year during the festival the secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF] makes a speech analyzing the party's current and future strategy. This year the party has every reason to be optimistic. The PCF is on the rise. This was shown by the National Assembly elections and was convincingly demonstrated by the festival itself. "Just 3 months before the end of the year," PCF Secretary General G. Marchais stated from the rostrum, "the party has more members than in the same period of 1987. I can tell you that on the eve of the L'HUMANITE festival another 50,000 people had joined the party...." [passage omitted]

A meeting between the PCF and L'HUMANITE leadership and the festival guests was held late in the evening at La Courneuve park. A CPSU and PRAVDA delegation headed by Academician V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, took part in the meetings and talks.

Delegation Departs for L'UNITA Festival
PM1509074988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure for Italy"]

[Text] A CPSU and PRAVDA delegation headed by G.M. Korniyenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, has departed for Italy at the invitation of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party to take part in the final events of the L'UNITA festival.

CPSU Delegation Back From Lisbon Visit
PM1409160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Return Home"]

[Text] A CPSU and PRAVDA delegation headed by B.G. Vladimirov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and editor in chief of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, which had taken part in the AVANTI! holiday, returned to Moscow 13 September from Lisbon.

Latin America & Caribbean

Honduran Official Discusses Central America
PM1409104988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Single Edition p 3

[Interview with Hector Orlando Gomez Cisneros, deputy speaker of the Honduran National Congress, by S. Meshcheryakov: "By Goodwill Alone"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] In our country Honduras is not often written about. Meanwhile, this small Central American state is embroiled in an acute regional conflict. The normalization of the situation in that region as a whole and around Nicaragua in particular depends to a large extent on how consistently the Honduran Government fulfills the terms of the Guatemala accords on Central America signed by the presidents of the region's five countries 1 year ago, because there are Nicaraguan contra camps on Honduran territory.

For a description of the situation in that country and its place in the process of a political settlement in Central America, we turned to Hector Orlando Gomez Cisneros, vice president of the Honduran National Congress, who headed the first Honduran parliamentary delegation to be invited to visit our country by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We should like to point out to our readers that Senor Gomez' remarks are not indisputable. However, this is one view of a regional situation which cannot be ignored when discussing the effective solution of the crisis in Central America.

[Meshcheryakov] The developing world is experiencing difficult times now. How far has economic crisis affected your country?

[Gomez] The crisis has not spared Honduras. It was first manifested in a sharp increase in unemployment, which affected around 300,000 people. You will agree that for a state with a population of little more than 4 million people this is a lot. The unfavorable conditions in the world market led to a reduction in the export of our traditional goods. The foreign debt reached almost $4 billion. Approximately one-third of the country's budget goes on debt interest payments. The government's attempts to resolve the agricultural crisis did not produce results. Last year we were forced to import grain. Quite a few problems have accumulated in the sphere of education and health care. The overall situation in the economy is very difficult.

[Meshcheryakov] Your country, therefore, has an objective interest in a political settlement of the conflict in Central America. What role is it playing in this process?

[Gomez] Yes, we have enough domestic problems. We are contributing as much as we can to the fulfillment of the Guatemala accords and we believe that we have fulfilled its main provisions.

The government and the people of Honduras seek peace and do not want to be at loggerheads with neighboring states.

[Meshcheryakov] The presence of Nicaraguan contra camps on Honduran territory is not conducive to the normalization of relations between your country and Nicaragua or to the improvement of the general regional situation. Furthermore, it is contrary to the terms of the Guatemala accords on Central America. It is no coincidence that Nicaragua insists on the contras' expulsion from Honduras.

[Gomez] I agree with you. The contras' presence complicates the fulfillment of the commitments adopted by our country. This has more than once led to border conflicts with Nicaragua. We are ready for talks with the Sandinistas on this question if they withdraw the charges which they made against Honduras at the International Court in The Hague. (As a goodwill gesture Nicaragua withdrew those charges 1 year ago, but relations between the two countries did not improve at all then—Editor's Note). Our country recently supported the presence of UN international forces on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. The contras are posing quite a few problems there. However, Honduras is a dependent country [as published]. I believe that if the Central American states enjoyed full economic and political independence they would find it easier to resolve their common problems. But in view of the actual conditions in the region we are forced in our actions to take account of other interests present in Central America.

[Meshcheryakov] Nicaragua's representative was not invited to the meetings between the Central American states' foreign ministers and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. However, they discussed questions which affect the interests of that country, which is a full party to the Guatemala accords.

[Gomez] If we are talking about the attempt to achieve a political settlement in Central America, then of course all the sides involved in the conflict, including Nicaragua, must take part in it. I consider the aforementioned practice wrong.

[Meshcheryakov] In your opinion, what are the prospects for a settlement of the Central American conflict?

[Gomez] I believe that reason and goodwill will ultimately triumph and that we will be able to resolve the region's problems by political means.

[Meshcheryakov] It is well known that the Soviet Union maintains stable relations with Nicaragua. Could this factor affect the USSR's relations with other countries in the region, specifically with Honduras?

[Gomez] We know about your country's close ties with Nicaragua. However, that does not mean that the USSR cannot maintain relations with other Central American states. Our bilateral relations are only just beginning, but I hope that we have prospects for the development of economic and political ties.

Honduras Offers U.S. Unlimited Military Access

LD1409155388 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] San Francisco September 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

The Governments of the USA and Honduras are drafting a secret agreement on expanding U.S. military presence in this Central American country, which will give the Pentagon a virtually unlimited access to airfields and sea ports of Honduras, writes the newspaper SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, referring to "informed sources" in Tegucigalpa.

At the same time Honduran officials will not be permitted to come to areas of special importance (in the USA's opinion). In some cases U.S. warships will be able to enter Honduran territorial waters and U.S. Air Force will use that country's air space without a preliminary permit from the Honduran authorities, the newspaper points out. Though the draft agreement does not specially stipulate the question on permanent war bases for the USA, it contains a clear agreement for U.S. troops to build and occupy permanently various facilities in Honduras.

A U.S. official pointed out in an interview with the newspaper that the agreement would be a legal basis for what was already in operation.

Washington regards Honduras as an important strategic springboard, necessary above all for expanding its undeclared war and for conducting a policy of military blackmail against Nicaragua. SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER says that last March the United States dispatched there 3,200 troops for a show of force. The Honduran Air Force base in [name indistinct] is also constantly used by the U.S. Air Force for reconnaissance flights over the Nicaraguan territory, notes the newspaper.

Brutents Delegation Visits Argentina 4-13 Sep

PM1509102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 13 Sep—A CPSU delegation headed by K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, was here 4 through 13 September at the invitation of the Communist Party of Argentina [PCA] leadership.

The delegation had meetings and conversations with A. Fava, secretary general of the PCA, and other PCA leaders, which took place in the atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship traditional of CPSU-PCA relations. The PCA leaders briefed the CPSU delegation on the party's activity aimed at fulfilling the resolutions of the 16th PCA Congress.

The CPSU delegation talked about the main areas of CPSU work in light of the tasks set by the 19th all-union party conference; the truly revolutionary processes of restructuring in all spheres of the life of Soviet society under way in the USSR; and the CPSU's international policy.

The two sides expressed the mutual desire to further develop cooperation between the CPSU and the PCA.

On Tuesday the CPSU delegation flew to Venezuela. It was seen off at the capital's international airport by A. Fava, secretary general of the PCA, and other officials.

Brazilian Air Force Commander Comments on Visit

PM1509075988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report citing interview with Lieutenant General C. Roza Filho by unnamed TASS correspondent: "End of Visit"]

[Text] Brasilia, 13 Sep—The Brazilian and Soviet Armed Forces, in my view, are now ready for more mature cooperation, Lt Gen C. Roza Filho, commander of the main aviation command and Brazilian deputy minister of aeronautics [aviatsiya], stated in an interview with your TASS correspondent at the end of his official visit to the USSR. I have had an opportunity to acquaint myself with the organization of the Soviet air forces and with modern aviation equipment. Brazilian military airmen could learn a lot from their Soviet colleagues.

As is well known, I am the first Brazilian military man to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. Because of a whole series of factors our relations have remained "frozen" until now or, more accurately, they simply did not exist. Now, I believe, we have overcome the barrier which divided us for many long years. The process of "restructuring" relations has begun, a process which must continue for the good of our peoples, the Brazilian military leader said in conclusion.

Political & Social

Further on Gorbachev Visit to Krasnoyarsk

Paper Cites 2d Day Activities

PM1409135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents N. Krivomazov, A. Chernyak, and G. Yastrebtsov: "Tomorrow Begins Today. M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Krasnoyarsk Kray"]

[Excerpts] Krasnoyarsk—Our tomorrow depends on how we set restructuring in motion today. The future is being born now in every work place and in every collective.

The second day of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray began at the "Khimvolokno" Association. This collective has long been renowned in Siberia. [passage omitted]

Questions and problems are diverse like life itself. The CPSU general secretary listened attentively to people and pursued every point. When, for instance, the "Khimvolokno" director, concerned about sticking to the schedule for the visit to the enterprise, said that it was time to wind things up, Mikhail Sergeyevich disagreed, remarking that if people had questions, they must all be heard.

"Yes, the reconstruction of 'Khimvolokno' is very necessary," M.S. Gorbachev supported the opinion of workers and their leaders. Two ministers, Yu. Bespalov and S. Bashilov, have already agreed on this. "Next year more than R4 million are to be invested in it."

The ecological situation is grave. There are distortions here. Why have they occurred? This must be investigated and a decision made as to how to rectify the matter. The country is interested in improving matters in Krasnoyarsk Kray. This kray is rich and we have a right to depend on its making a great contribution to the national economic complex.

The food problem is also acute. It is now the focus of attention for the Politburo. The 19th all-union party conference defined it as one of the most important tasks, and this task is being resolved. Things are changing. So, there are more eggs and poultry in stores and the milk situation is better. There are still interruptions in the meat supply, but even here things are beginning to get moving.

Public catering cooperatives are costly. The resolution adopted concerning their development specially stipulates that they must take nothing from state reserves. It is intolerable for them to drain away money, and they must be put in order even if it means closing them down. As for cooperatives in general, they are necessary. Because now repairs to apartments, clothing, and automobiles are a problem. The larger state enterprises do not take on much of this. Cooperatives must undertake it. We should welcome this. But if they dip into the state purse, that is no good at all. Order must be established everywhere. Everyone together. We must turn to social control. Worker control.

Some people are calling for the screws to be turned. This can be done without difficulty. They have already, incidentally, been turned. But nothing happened. It is time to reject that kind of style. It is time to reject commands. We are living under conditions of democratization; we must restore order ourselves and strengthen discipline. Through labor collectives, soviets, and social organizations. You won't get far with big-stick discipline. Restructuring relies on people's conscious discipline, creative initiative, and conscience. [passage omitted]

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary had a thorough conversation about the development of science at Krasnoyarsk's Akademgorodok.

"Our kray is rich in various natural resources," Academician V. Koptyug, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, said at the meeting. "This also determined the development of many sectors of industry and above all of power engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, heavy machine-building, and the timber and and chemical industries. However, it must be acknowledged that by no means are all enterprises working to the standard of contemporary technologies or concerned about the ecological situation."

It is hard not to agree with the academician's opinion. It is not the first year that there has been correspondence between local organs and central departments on improving Siberians' living conditions in cities and settlements. Last March the party kraykom sent a warning note to the CPSU Central Committee saying that the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, and the Ministry of the Coal Industry were systematically failing to meet targets for the design of water and air conservation facilities, housing, and public health, full financing was not guaranteed, and red tape was being tolerated when examining local organs' proposals regarding improving the economic situation.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary instructed Ministers V. Durasov (Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy) and M. Shchadov (Ministry of the Coal Industry), who were present at the Akademgorodok meeting, to answer people's questions as to what would be done to improve ecology and develop the social sphere.

Siberian scientists engaged in resolving major problems under the "Siberia" comprehensive regional research program have many opportunities for really improving matters. It is merely necessary to coordinate science more closely with practice and render it a production force.

The meeting between Siberian academics and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary discussed the country's frequently poor use of the latest scientific achievements, even though Soviet developments are world leaders in a number of areas. This applies to quite well-known explosive, plasma, and radiation technologies and work in the spheres of pulsed strike [impulsnyy udarnyy] machines, catalysis, and mechanical chemistry—processes that are employed in various spheres of the economy and are producing a great economic effect.

The technology for obtaining ultradispersed [ultradispersnyy] materials, above all ultradispersed diamonds, was cited as an example of one of the new technologies that is still unknown in world practice. The effect of using them in various sectors of the economy and in machine building is exceptionally high. It is necessary to urgently organize production of this material on a large scale along with its emergence on the domestic and foreign markets.

As has already been said, the kray's food problem is acute.

"Well, what about science? How is it helping to resolve this issue?" was the exceedingly pointed question that the CPSU Central Committee general secretary asked N. Surin, corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and director of the NIISKh [Krasnoyarsk Scientific Research Institute].

The scientist started talking about successes, as is usual. There is buckwheat that can yield 35 quintals per hectare, spring wheat yielding 55 quintals, and barley developed at the institute that yields 80 quintals.

Right, so why do the kray's kolkhozes only produce 14-16 quintals of grain crops per hectare? Why is livestock productivity low? It seems that these varieties exist more in scientists' reports than in real life.

"I have been struck by the following phenomenon," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "Arkadiy Filimonovich Veprev at the 'Nazarovskiy' Sovkhoz produces large returns despite having little money. His results are better than the results of those who have more money and yet still cry: Give us this, give us that. What's going on?"

"It's a question of people's attitude to their work," A. Veprev, mounting the rostrum, answered this and other questions.

Attitudes to work, precisely. The work of country people has lost its original content. People are now paid not for end produce but for distance traveled and tonnage shifted. Country people have switched to everything that is banal and have started treating work in a banal manner.

Lease, collective, and family contracts are getting everything back to normal. In the space of a single year contracts have sharply increased grain yields and livestock productivity. But contracts are finding it hard going in the kray. True, the figures again look impressive on paper, but in reality they are far more modest.

It was also said that output waste during processing is still very great. Only the reduction of such losses will make it possible to increase total agricultural output by almost one-third. The enthusiasm for building large, so-called villages of the future [perspektivnyye sela] at central farmsteads is also obvious. This has led to many villages' being destroyed. And in Russia there are no fewer than 700,000 of them. Yet people have lived, grown grain, and raised livestock in these villages from time immemorial. The same Krasnoyarsk Kray once dispatched its agricultural output even to European parts of the country. Now it does not have enough for itself.

"We must rectify matters in the countryside forthwith. Everyone must. Both scientists and practical workers," M.S. Gorbachev stressed. [passage omitted]

The problems of making the best use of resources, developing the construction base, and overcoming departmental uncoordination—which is acutely felt in the region—were discussed by Academician A. Trofimuk; I. Sayenko, chief of the Main Administration for Construction in Krasnoyarsk; V. Guskov, general director of the "Krasnoyarskugol" Association; V. Sokolov, rector of Kazan State University; and Yu. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Summing up the results of the conversation, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need to develop and implement measures to resolve the questions that were raised.

TRUD Reports Meetings

PM1409140188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 1

[Report by TASS special correspondents N. Zheleznov, A. Petrovskiy, Yu. Khots, L. Shvedova, and V. Shishlin: "Not Losing Faith in the Irreversibility of Renewal. M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings with Krasnoyarsk Kray Working People"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, 13 Sep—Meetings between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Siberians continue. The 2d day of M.S. Gorbachev's working tour of Krasnoyarsk Kray began early in the

morning with a visit to the "Khimvolokno" Association's shops. There were conversations with association workers, engineers, and leaders about accelerating the shops' reconstruction. Pointed questions were asked about working conditions and the need to take urgent measures to improve ecological conditions at the enterprise and in the city.

The enterprise's thousands-strong collective is going through a difficult period now. Shops producing viscose fabric for the tire industry and textile yarns for the silk industry are undergoing reconstruction. The country needs more durable cord for tires, made not of viscose but of kapron. The conversion of this production unit is not just a technological objective. The commissioning of the new production unit will also make it possible to sharply improve the ecological conditions that are causing so much alarm in the city now.

Consequently, the slogan of the "Khimvolokno" collective is: Reconstruction not for reconstruction's sake. The renewal of shops and equipment will enable the enterprise collective to get its second wind. Moreover, steady work in the conditions of economic management will certainly have an effect on the social sphere.

"We are interested," Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked in conversations with plant workers, "in ensuring that you have better living and working conditions. After all, your kray gives a lot to the country. But anomalies have developed in Siberia's construction priorities in the last few years. New major enterprises have appeared, while plants like 'Khimvolokno,' erected here in the postwar years, were getting older. Social development was chronically lagging—housing, schools, and hospitals alike. Now we must jointly make up for all that was lost over many years."

"And leaders must be taken more strictly to task for the promises they make to workers," driver M. Zaikin remarked. "So that plans do not remain just on paper. You see, while ministers argued whether to embark on reconstruction here or not, the old plans became obsolete. New ones had to be drawn up. This is a waste of money, of our own—the people's money. And workers must respect discipline...."

"There will be no restructuring without discipline," Mikhail Sergeyevich seconded his interlocutor. "We must tackle this work together. Then we will be in a position not only to restore your plant but also to impose order in the country."

A lively conversation with workers took place at the entrance to the spinning shop.

Fitter-repairman A.I. Pavlov: Mikhail Sergeyevich, one goes to repair a machine and there are no spare parts. Yet everything is available on the market. Why is it that only some manage to get these parts?

M.S. Gorbachev: We convened a special Politburo session following the conference to analyze and discuss how to impose order in the trade and services sphere. I think that it is necessary to rely on public monitoring, on workers control. Is the kindergarten situation normal here? Has this question been solved in the plant?

Voices: We have kindergartens. We do not have housing. The situation with medical institutions is bad.

M.S. Gorbachev: We gave the Gosplan special instructions to examine the question of allocating additional funds to Krasnoyarsk Kray for these purposes in the 13th 5-Year Plan. But it appears that these questions can also be solved at local levels. Your first secretary informed me that a decision has been made to assign the new kraykom building to medical institutions. A few more buildings have been found in the kray to be allocated for social, cultural, and consumer service facilities. There is only one thing you can say: These are wise decisions.

...The spinning and finishing shop for the production of cord fabric, just like the combine's other shops, by the way, is staffed mainly by women. And the work here is not easy. Looking fragile beside the huge machine tools, they move so quickly that you can hardly follow the multicolored scarves, and yet they also manage to pull aside the heaps of waste by hand. Indeed, women can do everything, as well as looking after their homes and bringing up children. They can, but there is a limit.

"Alas, women cannot cope with all this by themselves," T.S. Yezhakova, chairman of the association's women's council, firmly asserted. "It is time for the administration to start treating us, the aktiv members, as direct associates of the labor collective council and not just as organizers of women's free time."

N. Panasenko and A. Makrushina backed their senior friend. "It is sad to see," they said, "young specialists being forced to leave the shop: Waiting lists for housing are growing longer."

"So this is another place where reconstruction is the key to unraveling a complex knot," Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked.

In the association's Red Corner, where enterprise and shop leaders and representatives of public organizations had assembled, the general secretary summed up the results of his first dialogue with Krasnoyarsk's working class.

"Let me tell you right away, comrades," he said, "that we cannot expect success in restructuring if people are not properly accommodated, if they suffer from an accumulation of so many problems which have evolved into a single major problem—a lag in the development of the social sphere. Look at your own plant—the picture is

identical in every shop. Excellent people, top-class specialists, people who like their work, and yet reconstruction is on the skids and therefore social questions have been neglected. But I must say that the center is primarily to blame for much of what has been left undone and for the situation which has developed. Ultimately this must be admitted. But the future is decided here, at the local level. What the center must do is pave the way for people: set correct normatives and clearly outline the development prospects. People must be helped—in technical matters, and especially in policy matters. The fusion of efforts by the center and by production collectives is most necessary in your paramount job of modernization as well as in the assimilation of new methods of economic management. Now is the time to do this."

Siberia is rich in mineral resources. But its balanced development is impossible without a comprehensive forecast on the transformation of the kray's production forces. A tremendous role in this has to be played by scientists from the Krasnoyarsk branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department—geologists and economists, hydrologists and physicists, mathematicians, and ecologists.

Given the truly Siberian scale and pace set in assimilating the natural wealth, the cost of mistakes and the damage caused by them to the region as a whole increases sharply. The opposite is also true: A tested economic maneuver yields huge gains. How is all this to be taken into account; how is the research potential to be more effectively geared to the topical tasks of the kray's development? These were the main questions at M.S. Gorbachev's afternoon meeting at the Krasnoyarsk branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department.

Greeting those present, M.S. Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the results of his initial meetings with Siberians. "It is always interesting to touch on the affairs of a kray that is on the upswing, at an important stage in the shaping of a national economic complex," he observed. "Especially when this kray stretches from the southern steppes to the Arctic Ocean and is populated by special people who can conquer the harsh open spaces.

"But this trip was not prompted by romanticism or by inquisitiveness. We are worried about the development of affairs in Krasnoyarsk Kray.

"The topic of the development of Krasnoyarsk Kray's production forces crops up with increasing frequency at various conferences and sessions. We must add to this, comrades, the fact that working people from Krasnoyarsk Kray have written very many letters in the last couple of years on a very broad range of questions concerning both the people's life and the progress in solving national economic tasks.

"Look what is happening: Huge capital investments, running into billions, are channeled here! You would expect this to provide a basis for organizing a sensible approach, bearing in mind that territorial complexes are still at their initial stage, that there is a solidly established academy from which we are entitled to expect a clear-cut scientific forecast. But what is happening, where is the scientific approach to be found, either now or in the past? Who is to blame? In which management link is it buried, considering that we are now facing the problem whereby the pace of construction in the production cycle and the infrastructure, primarily the social infrastructure, is being thwarted, the buildup of capacities is coming up against acute ecological issues, and the further construction of hydro-engineering projects threatens the loss of millions of acres of land?

"And yet scientists promised us that everything would be fine while they were building power stations and dams one after the other. The people are very worried by this situation. Most, probably including you who live here, also know that the people are unwilling to accept this today. If we were to continue along this path, it would mean wasting resources running into billions and creating an intolerable situation here. Is this the way we should build?

"Is this the way to carry on, comrades, when nature is in jeopardy and man's interests are somewhere on the furthest back burner? This will not work, it cannot work, and it is no longer working. Let us be objective. You scientists are called the keepers of scientific truth in this region's development. I would like our conversation to be on a party and state level—in other words responsible and principled. This is extremely necessary. Let us hear it from you, comrades."

First to speak was Yu.K. Abakumov, first deputy chairman of the krayispolkom and chief of the Planning and Economic Administration. "Over the last few years," he said, "we have been repeatedly criticized at the highest level on questions concerning the development of and the results from the economic activity of enterprises and the territory as a whole, and about the creation of housing and consumer service conditions for working people. The CPSU Central Committee resolution 'On the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom's Work To Improve Social and Consumer Service Conditions for Working People' was of great help to us in changing the direction in which we applied our efforts, rethinking the development concept, and effectively facing up to questions of qualitative improvement in the economy and social policy."

M.S. Gorbachev: So why does the nonproduction sphere represent such a large proportion in your kray? What was your krayispolkom doing?

Yu.K. Abakumov: We were fighting....

M.S. Gorbachev: What sort of fight was it that did not produce even a single "casualty"? (animation, laughter) And even so you ended up complete losers.... You should have been more demanding toward the ministries, right up to blocking certain facilities.

Yu.K. Abakumov: If we had not allowed the ministry to do the work, it would have meant the state not receiving output....

M.S. Gorbachev: No. Unless we now turn sharply in the direction of man's interests, the state will receive nothing: The development of production forces will be halted. It is impossible to develop society when there is an extensive economy and a huge gap between construction for production and construction for social purposes. We cannot do it. And what is the proportion you suggest for the nonproduction sphere for the 13th 5-Year Plan period?

Yu.K. Abakumov: Around 30 percent. Now we are waiting for amended plans to come back from the ministries. But the forecast is this: We will never again rise above 25 percent.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not a joyful answer. Here is another question: Why do you have no hothouses? Look at your neighbors: They solved this question a long time ago.

Yu.K. Abakumov: There were government resolutions on this issue....

M.S. Gorbachev: The task should be formulated thus: There must be one square meter of covered ground for every worker. And this question must be resolved in the next few years.

Next to speak was Academician V.A. Koptyug, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Academy of Sciences Siberian Department: "Each one of the 700 organizations involved in work on the 'Siberia' program was financed over the past few years by its ministry or department. As a result of the transfer of sectoral organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing, many of them came up against the problem of financing work with an intersectoral nature. As a rule, ministries do not finance such work in the new conditions. For example, Krasnoyarsk's scientists do not know to this day who provides funds for ecologically important work like the 'Clean Yenisey' program, or who pays for expeditionary work linked with technical and economic feasibility studies of future hydroelectric power construction projects.

"The Siberian Department, being the umbrella department for the 'Siberia' program, is seeking ways to make it possible to change the organization of work and the finance system in order not only to retain an efficient collective of research and development workers under this program but also to help the establishment of newly emerging collectives under other regional programs like the 'Far East' and 'Urals' programs."

"In terms of agricultural production, Krasnoyarsk Kray represents one-half of the East Siberian economic region," said N.A. Surin, corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and director of the Krasnoyarsk Scientific Research Institute. "Harvest yield and productivity indicators have become more stable over the last few years even though weather conditions varied from year to year. Return on feeds in stockraising is increasing and the profitability of production is rising. Egg and potato production has been improved to meet rational nutrition norms."

M.S. Gorbachev: And if everything that is produced today were to be harvested, safely stored, and processed—what would be the real increase?

N.A. Surin: Some 30-40 percent. A program for the development of the processing industry sectors through 1995 has now been elaborated in the kray. We are focusing attention on improving zonal arable farming systems. Our institute has created 45 crop strains, some of which are not inferior to their best world counterparts in terms of their genetic potential. For instance, our strains of buckwheat can form a harvest of up to 35 quintals per hectare, our strains of wheat a harvest of 50 quintals, and our strains of barley a harvest of up to 80 quintals per hectare.

M.S. Gorbachev: But do your strains produce good harvests on the farms?

N.A. Surin: On the "Nazarovskiy" Sovkhoz the yield of our strains of barley reaches 50-60 quintals. And the "Iskra" Sovkhoz, Uzhurskiy Rayon, is now obtaining 70 quintals of barley per hectare.

M.S. Gorbachev: But what is the secret of the phenomenon of the "Nazarovskiy" Sovkhoz, led by Comrade Veprev? With smaller funds than the average for the kray it has been obtaining the most outstanding indicators for 2 decades.

Giving a peasant good seeds and a good selection of animals is one thing, but what next? Perhaps it is a matter of a person's attitude toward the land? The extent to which he feels he is the owner? What is Veprev's secret? I know that very many people do not like his farm's high indicators, and particularly his speeches, in which he has proven the lack of talent in the leadership of Krasnoyarsk Kray's agrarian complex. At one time they almost wanted to get rid of him—he gives us no peace, they said. What kind of a man is this who makes life impossible for the kray? That is how things should be done, he says, but everything is done differently. Can scientists give an answer to this question?

Yet meanwhile the food problem remains acute in Krasnoyarsk. People rightly say: We are prepared to experience difficulties and ecological commitments. That is soon settled. As long as there are real advances in resolving the food program. Regional science must ensure these advances.

The floor was given to "Nazarovskiy" Sovkhoz director A.F. Veprev.

M.S. Gorbachev: Arkadiy Filimonovich, I cannot walk through Krasnoyarsk without the food question being constantly put to me. Is it not that people live quite well in the countryside and do not think very much about the city? What is the matter?

A.F. Veprev: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I think that what you have seen is only part of the trouble, only half the trouble. I believe that in agriculture the question is far more serious with regard to supplying the population in Krasnoyarsk Kray with food. Agriculture has been brought to the end of its rope in Krasnoyarsk Kray. There is only a handful of sovkhozes like ours, or at least close to ours. But even they have no great prospects so far. You see what the result is in Krasnoyarsk Kray? Industry is developing rapidly, yet it is not constructing comprehensively, but why? No one knows. For instance, a tractor trailer plant has been constructed. Why has it been erected in Krasnoyarsk? After all, an esteemed academician has spoken about oil, but there will not be enough oil either if the trailers are sent all over the Soviet Union. Krasnoyarsk Kray is in a zone unfavorable to agriculture. Unless attention is paid to it, it will be very difficult to restore it. Agriculture is far more complex than the production of many industrial enterprises and construction sites. But how has it been approached? I shall cite an example which is repeated every year. The fall is approaching; grain procurement is imminent. The party raykom secretaries draw up the balance and say: 40 or 60 percent must be left for pig rearing and 50 percent for large horned cattle. But stockraising production output is kept at its previous level. How can this be done? I have formed the impression, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that this has all been done from above, that it is all for the sake of an extra stripe on their shoulder straps. We have seen everything collapsing and we have raised these questions. We could even be called dissidents.

Can Krasnoyarsk Kray eventually be fed? As I understand it, that is how the question is put.

M.S. Gorbachev: Exactly.

A.F. Veprev. Indeed, people must first be fed and even given a certain choice. The people have lost the right to ownership—that is a universal truth.... A person comes to a stockraising unit where the property belongs to the state; he goes home and the house belongs to the state. That is why all types of contracts—the lease contract, the collective contract—are a way of setting agriculture on its feet. But that is not the entire path.

M.S. Gorbachev. Undoubtedly. And what about social conditions in the countryside?

A.F. Veprev. The question of the transfer to the family stockraising unit must be raised. But please tell me: Is there anyone who could provide himself with an agricultural production unit and pay himself wages twice the value of the output he produces? Only we can do that.

M.S. Gorbachev: And there is the question of why that economic manager and the sovkhoz workers or kolkhoz members with him should try to reach the level of the indicators of the farm headed by Comrade Veprev? If their wages today, even with these indicators and for all the losses their farm is incurring, are the same or even higher. Yet the state is allocating money for construction on their farm.

A.F. Veprev: It cannot continue like that. We must get away from the gradual approach.

M.S. Gorbachev: I will put a direct question to you. We already conducted a lot of rapid work on one occasion—in 1929-1933—and we are still trying to disentangle ourselves. Will the result not be that we will compromise this in-depth change if we start forcing people again into the leasing method?

A.F. Veprev: No, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I did not go so far as to say that. I believe this question must be studied well. We have farms where a peasant keeps five to six head of cattle. Naturally he obtains more than 1,500 liters per cow there. But he also works as a milkman or stockman on the farm and on the sovkhoz he milks 1,500 liters per cow. You ask: Why does he go there? He goes there to rob the sovkhoz, to take what he robs to his own farm. So on such farms we must put the question: Either you work or we will disband the sovkhoz. Please take the land, here are the cows, and you can engage in production. Here the principle of voluntariness must be absolute.

M.S. Gorbachev: There are very many people who are not eager to take up a contract. That way they have to look out day and night for what is happening on the land, on the stockraising unit, and in the meadow.

A.F. Veprev: Almost no one wants the contract. Why should I work hard when they will only work so-so and get paid for it?

M.S. Gorbachev: That is what I call our de-peasanting of the country.

The meeting was also addressed by V.G. Nakoryakov, general director of "Krasnoyarskgeologiya"; Academician A.A. Trofimuk, first deputy chairman of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences; I.A. Sayenko, chief of the "Glavkrasnoyarskstroy"; V.A. Guskov, general director of "Krasnoyarskugol"; A.M. Rumyantsev, general director of the "Krastyazhmash"

production association; V.S. Sokolov, rector of Krasnoyarsk University; I.A. Kirilov, general director of "Krasnoyarsklesprom"; V.A. Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy; M.I. Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry; and Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Summing up the results of the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said: Our talk should be continued and will end with the adoption of practical decisions.

Above all, this meeting and the comrades' speeches confirm the assessment given by the party Central Committee and government of the state of affairs in Krasnoyarsk Kray. Moreover, if we look more deeply into the problems under examination and give them specific form, things are revealed that cause indignation and, most important, grief. Much of what does not work, what is ossified, has already been buried in Krasnoyarsk soil. This is, frankly, thriftlessness. And I shall say frankly that the center is also responsible for this, because it is responsible for the ideology of planning and the location of production forces. The departments that were not up to the job also bear responsibility. They have been captive to their own departmental interests. What is the point of the Ministry of Power Engineering and the Ministry of the Coal Industry launching work on an enormous scale in the kray and providing for only 18 percent of capital investments to be earmarked for the creation of the nonproduction sphere? This stance is not backed up either by scientific or the most elementary proprietorial calculations. Even without science it is clear here that there are distortions and deformations in investment policy.

But I must say that responsibility for this is also born to some degree by the Krasnoyarsk party kraykom, the krayispolkom, and all economic leaders who have been unable to stand up to this departmental pressure and counter it with territorial interests, comprehensive interests, and a comprehensive approach. Only a comprehensive approach can be justified with such developments.

Nor has science done everything: Neither G.I. Marchuk when he headed the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences nor Comrade Koptyug, the present chairman of the Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Presidium. They failed to take a firm stand. Yet science is an independent, scientifically substantiated opinion; it should raise questions at any state level if the wrong thing is being done.

We are obliged to accept this criticism in order to derive lessons from the first stage of the development of production forces in Krasnoyarsk Kray. That is the first point.

The second point: What a lot of work has been done on this rich land. This simply beautiful land! Although much has been done here, what has been done is being devalued because it has not been done thriftily but in a haphazard, self-seeking way—as though some colonizers had come here to extract the resources for a year and take them away somewhere and that was the end of it. And then not even grass could grow.

But we have come here for centuries, comrades. Surely we cannot manage things like this? It would seem that we had accumulated sufficient potential to enable us to look confidently into the future. But on the other hand the national economy has so far failed to receive a proper return, on all salients. The main thing is: Look how all this has struck against man. Take housing—an acute problem. Food—the same thing. And how acute the ecology problem has become.

But, as our talk today has shown, these are all solvable problems.

There are also problems which require a thorough study and thorough elaboration so that they can go into the plans for the 13th 5-Year Plan and for the long term—through 2005.

A number of questions—and we have agreed on this—can be singled out for solution in the next 2-3 years. This is in order to rectify matters drastically.

Comrade Veprev's approaches must be used as the basis for resolving the problems of the agro-industrial complex in the kray, and your program on this salient must be given a finished form. Especially as we are planning to discuss in detail questions of agrarian policy at the next CPSU Central Committee plenum. I can say that Krasnoyarsk Kray has the potential to feed not only itself.

As for housing, this is also a solvable task. But here too everyone must take part in its fulfillment, especially regarding the equipping of new construction enterprises.

And finally, ecology. Today this subject was heard only indistinctly, but it resounds just as intensely as all the other problems we cited. For instance, what are we to do about hydraulic power stations? The point is not that hydraulic technology is the wrong path, comrades. By no means. Hydraulic technology must be in harmony with environmental conservation. Departmental interests have also clashed here. By making a project cheaper, departments have harmed the environment. That is what we should get rid of! Then we must look to see whether we need enormous complexes like the Krasnoyarsk GES or the Sayno-Shushenskaya GES. There should be convenient hydraulic power stations which make use of the river's natural current without changing anything. This must be studied most attentively. Giantism and flooding and inundation have caused these questions to arise.

We must work out a list of urgent problems, a minimal program for ecological questions. People must be given a report after all these urgent programs have been drafted: for food, for housing, and for the environment.

The country's interests here are great, but Krasnoyarsk Kray also needs support from the center. We will try to bear this in mind in completing this 5-year plan and forming plans for the future 5-year plan.

In general comrades, let us agree: Do not wait for instructions. The basic instructions have been given. The political and economic prerequisites exist, and a certain atmosphere has been created. The potential of every organization must be now be thoroughly exploited.

Many working people are now saying that the cadres are in no hurry, that they are taking a long time to get going, that questions are piling up but the bosses are continuing to hold sessions all the time. Perhaps our conference too, unless it leads to a change in matters, will also be called yet another conference—only at a high level. It would be simply scandalous if, after our talk, nothing substantial happened either here or at the center. We must not allow that! We must resolutely rectify the matter. I think the Politburo will give political instructions on this score.

The general secretary's meetings on Krasnoyarsk soil are continuing.

More Press Reportage

PM1409161988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Single Edition p 1

[Report by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents Yu. Nikolayev and A. Shchegolev: "Let's Get Down to Serious Work; M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The second day of the visit was absolutely packed with trenchant discussions and fierce, impassioned polemics on the most topical questions of life in this harsh region. It began with a trip to the "Khimvolokno" Production Association in Krasnoyarsk. Incidentally, local journalists were perplexed about why it had been chosen for the visit. They said that there are both better known and stronger enterprises in Krasnoyarsk. We shall not hide the fact that for some time even we could not help thinking this. It was only afterwards that we understood that the choice of "Khimvolokno" was, so to speak, right on: It not only stands for one of the country's major chemical centers but is also the focus of the most topical problems which are typical of this enormous region. [passage omitted]

V.A. Shelan, director of the association, began his story with a description of the unenviable situation. The Krasnoyarsk "Khimvolokno" has found itself in a situation which is very typical of many plants which were built 30-40 years ago. In those years they tried to build accommodation as close as possible to the production facilities so as not to exacerbate transportation problems and so that it would be more convenient for people to walk to work. Plants were gradually surrounding the cities, and as they expanded their capacities they began to exert an increasingly strong influence on the environment. The same "Khimvolokno" had to close certain shops because of ecological considerations, and ultimately reduce output by almost R20 million. For the same reason the gorispolkom decided to halve production. The demand for the enterprise's immediate reconstruction turned into the most acute ecological, social, and looking further ahead, political task. But there was a snag. The red tape in converting production (the switch from viscose cord thread to kapron) dragged on for the entire 11th 5-Year Plan, and there is no end in sight in the 12th 5-Year Plan. Although there exist very promising engineering solutions. It would seem to be quite obvious how to rectify this matter without reducing production output, which is most essential for the national economy, but rather increasing it by a factor of 1.5, as well as ensuring greater durability and better quality of output and ending harmful discharges into the atmosphere.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was acquainted in detail with the mechanism of the bureaucratic delays. He was told how the contractors became good at dragging out their study of the projects put forward for the second half of the year so as not to get down to their practical implementation even during the following year. We have missed the right moment again, they said, our plan has already been determined.... Mikhail Sergeyevich invited Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of USSR Gosstroy, to join the discussion, and proposed that he should listen to the reasonable arguments and not delay with drawing conclusions. It was clear that Yu.A. Bespalov, minister of the USSR chemical industry, who was also here, felt uncomfortable. He had to deal with some serious complaints. The sector's headquarters displays sluggishness in carrying out the necessary technical policy, and its has virtually brought to a standstill the reconstruction of the association's production facilities. [passage omitted]

In conversation with the chemical workers, Mikhail Sergeyevich repeatedly drew attention to the report and election campaign under way in the association's party organization. For restructuring to succeed it is exceptionally important to elect comrades to party bureaus and committees who will ensure a real breakthrough first and foremost in the approach to man, to his cares and needs. And to the work too!

Meets With Norilsk Workers

LD1409191388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Nadezhda metallurgical works. [video shows cars traveling through industrial area, then Gorbachev and large crowd in factory yard] This is one of the

world's biggest modern enterprises for the production of rare metals. They started talking about the conditions of work and the new wage rates.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] There has been a lot of discussion about the new wage rates. Every band in the new rates has a different meaning, but you are the ones who decide whether to go over to them or not. It is the enterprise that decides; it is up to the collective to decide whether you are ready to go over to them or not. At the moment people say that the enterprise accumulates the money gradually and transfers stage by stage, one work area after another. Everything is decided at collective level, and it is the collective that decides whether they are transferred to one thing or another, including the wage band, the wage rate, and so on. It is the collective, everything is done in your own collective. I tell you, if on any question—and this is now the law, the labor collective has the right—if you do not want it, if you decide otherwise, then you can stay as you are for now. Build yourselves up, see how it goes, or [words indistinct] sort things out.

Well, they say, they have decided, but the collective itself—someone was working in the tool shop on wage band six but in fact doing the work of, and today gets, wage band three. They say to you, you do this, so go on and have the rate for the job. So the main thing is for the collective to look into everything itself. If there are problems, or people who are dissatisfied, get the collective's labor council together and see what has worked and what has not worked. Who heads your labor collective's council?

[Voices in crowd] The director.

[Gorbachev] But why does he head it? [indistinct comments from crowd] Hold on. Why does he head it?

[Voices in crowd] He was elected. The director was elected. [indistinct comments from the crowd]

[Gorbachev] I think... I think, I'll tell you my opinion, but you must decide for yourselves. When the Politburo learned that labor collectives had started forming themselves on the basis of the law and that most labor collective councils were being headed by the managers, we at the Politburo spoke against this. What we wanted was for the labor council to be headed by active, principled workers.

[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich! The people at the works are really very young [words indistinct] do their own work and not ours.

[Gorbachev] I will answer that question now. First of all, 60 percent of the ministers are new. Almost 80 percent of obkom secretaries are new. There are more and more new secretaries of raykoms and gorkoms. There are even more secretaries of primary organizations, and they are being changed now as well. This has happened over 3 years. You can see it, they have worked for 3 years, even those who were replaced earlier, who replaced the old ones, and you have already seen over these last couple of years what happens if the wrong person gets in, someone who procrastinates, starts working for his own benefit when he gets the job, or is distant from people. You realize that he is content to deal with his own matters, so to speak, to satisfy his ambitions, so things are not going well; he is the wrong person. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 14 September carries a similar report on Gorbachev's exchange with Nadezhda workers. The Moscow Domestic version, however, replaces the preceding two paragraphs with the following: "[Voices in crowd] That's not what happens!

"[Gorbachev] What do you mean, that doesn't happen, if it is the main way it happens in the country?

"[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, this is not always necessary.

"[Gorbachev] But listen, surely you are not incapable of proving your strength of character?

"[Man] [Words indistinct] this one is not suitable, and so that one is not suitable.

"[Gorbachev] And so, we are all restructuring ourselves, and the party's role (?is being restructured) and (?we are learning) democracy. Just look, the elections have been held in just a part of the primary party organizations in Krasnoyarsk: 40 percent of secretaries of primary party organizations have been replaced, and 60 percent of (?workshop) party group (?organizers). That is, what we specifically agreed on has already started working. It means that people are putting forward the people they trust.

"[Man] (?It has started working), that is right.

"[Gorbachev] Let there be not appointed leaders but leaders you trust. For instance, in the party; we will do it in the soviets as well, we will make the laws, so the person who people trust and who can really be a leader, and (?he must defend his actions), so he is kept in control. And finally, at the enterprise level, you see we are moving things through the enterprise law, via financial autonomy: self-financing, elections, the labor collective council, election of the director and the workshop head. We have started turning the system around in all areas; we are putting it on its feet." The Moscow Domestic version variation ends here.]

There is a campaign in progress in the primary party organizations, in the rayons, in the cities, in the obkoms and kraykoms. You settle the questions, and you see the people who have done a good job over this period. It is all in your hands now. [The Moscow Domestic version here adds the following: "And without waiting for the rule changes, we have embarked on applying what we elaborated at the conference, although this is not quite

legitimate, but never mind. I suggested this at the conference: Let's not wait for a congress and changes in the rules, let's just get on with it, and we did so."] We are also introducing this in the soviets; we will have this system there too. This opens up the opportunity for people to act. The labor collective council, if you see that something is not right at the works, something is not right with the combine, then ask if the right people are in charge. Invite whoever you like—the minister, or someone from a party body—and (?put it to them), discuss it. Either the comrade director, or someone else, will draw the right conclusion. [Gorbachev turns to speak to someone behind him] We are talking about the principle here, and he will do this or that, as it should be done, or else you need a different person.

But when they say things like what one worker said to me: Mikhail Sergeyevich, give the order to open fire on the headquarters... [people in crowd shout: That's right! That's right!] Just as I expected, very well! [laughter] And I'm telling you now, I am nevertheless accountable, you know, to you and to everyone for carrying out the restructuring and for ensuring that the country is not split into camps and people put at loggerheads and so on, let's not do it that way. Let's not strike at the headquarters and then sort out what goes where. Let's not start off by destroying the house, smashing up everything in the house, you understand, and then sit down and [words indistinct] have it turn out that that was not what we needed, that we should have done something else

Damn it! Can you really do that with a country which has such a mission in the world? Can you treat it like that? And so the reason we took this path before completing the economic reform with many social problems still unsolved; the reason we embarked on political reform is because we must change direction so that the issues which make people want to open fire on the headquarters can be resolved, not, you understand, by employing the methods of 1937 in today's circumstances—cutting off heads, breaking necks, and so on—no, we have had enough of that; we have had enough. At last we showed them, and what's next?

[Unidentified man] Only frightened the people!

[Gorbachev] And so this is why I say we must do it via elections in the party, via elections in the soviets, via elections here. We are laying foundations for all this so that fundamentally it is you who deal with things and make the decisions. But not, you understand, the way it was done before, because we really have to build and move forward and not reduce the country to chaos. It is your country, after all.

In the final analysis, do you really think that I, as general secretary, don't want everything to be resolved as soon as possible? You probably appreciate how nice it would be if a general secretary could agree to something one day and have everything turn out well tomorrow. But I don't think that we need such a half-hearted general secretary who would make such promises, you understand, about what he's going to do for the country when later he would be cursed for centuries because he had driven the country into a corner and gone against the people. We cannot have that, comrades. But as for restructuring, as far as it is in my power, and as far as the party rules allow, as long as it is entrusted to me, I will push through restructuring, and thoroughly too. [video shows foundry work, Gorbachev and delegation inspecting foundry] [end recording]

During the meetings with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, issues were frequently raised about the unsatisfactory state of the air in Norilsk. And 80,000 children live there. One way to tackle the complex ecological problem is to make solid sulphur from the gas, and not just at the Nadezhda metallurgical works. The heads of the enterprise acquainted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with the prospects for further developing the works.

Gorbachev Walkabout Broadcast

LD1409235388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray continues. Today he arrived in Norilsk. Today, this city beyond the Arctic Circle is a major industrial center in Siberia. The first meeting on the way to the city is with inhabitants of Kayyerkan, Norilsk's satellite town, where employees of the Nadezhdinskiy metallurgical combine live. [video shows Gorbachev leaving plane; standing among crowd of people]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman] You know, Mikhail Sergeyevich, you spend 10 years working up north, go for a holiday to the mainland and (?you're lost). After all, you leave something behind here, a bit of your heart. You leave the most important things behind, that's why we are not leaving.

[Gorbachev] You get settled down.

[Woman] That's right, we put down roots here.

[Gorbachev] Well, that's good. And what is bad?

[Woman] What's bad? Well, they have raised wages by R3, by R5, while they have reduced bonuses by 15-20 percent. That's what is bad here.

[Gorbachev] Well, something is not right here.

[Woman] It ought to be sorted out.

[Gorbachev] In the final analysis of course, things should be as follows: One should get paid for one's work.

[Woman] Indeed, we agree with that.

[Gorbachev] If you make more and produce more efficiently you should be paid more. And if you start working less, you know, it has to be related to the end result; pay cannot just be jacked up so that you get no less than before. We have been doing just this for many years, irrespective of what the final product was, whether it was machine-tool or goods, wages were always jacked up, whether there was any end product or not. It turned out that here, in rubles, everything was normal, while there at the end it was not.

[Woman] For the state.

[Gorbachev] (?Whose state is it after all? It's ours.) For then with those subsidized wages you went to the shop and seeing that at the end there were no commodities, no nothing, then there was nothing in the shops either. You know, everything we do now is aimed at sorting things out so that work gets paid for, more work gets more pay, and talent gets paid for.

[Woman] Indeed.

[Gorbachev] What's been (?eating away at us) is this kind of mediocrity or even worse—loss-making management. Take two sovkhozes or even two enterprises. One is a leader, it works well, the other makes losses. You look at them and the wages are the same. Why?

[Woman] Because everyone is equal.

[Gorbachev] How come here you have an enterprise or a sovkhoz making losses while the people are still getting wages [words indistinct]?

[Woman] Well, that's what we are talking about.

[Unidentified man] And we've still got [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] They still exist. That's why we must turn everything around, comrades.

[Man] We must turn it around for the better.

[Gorbachev] That's it, that's it. It must be restructured.

[Woman] And what specific questions are going to be resolved?

[Gorbachev] You mean at the enterprise?

[Woman] That's right, that's right.

[Gorbachev] I think that production is going to be maintained at the present level. This will guarantee work for several decades to come. But in the long term geologists will have to work on it.

[Woman] (?Otherwise it's going to be very difficult to get work here.)

[Gorbachev] Well, as regards...[changes thought] You have a specific new problem here in that people stay on to live here even after they retire. Even now there are 6,000 pensioners that have stayed on in Norilsk. They could have left, right?

[Unidentified voices] Yes, of course. But where to? There is no housing.

[Gorbachev] And what if you had an opportunity to buy an apartment?

[Voices] Where do you get the money? There's no money. We haven't got the money.

[Gorbachev] You haven't? I am trying to establish the details.

[Woman] All the same, it is very complicated with cooperative apartments. For a long time they would not accept us anywhere. Now they have started accepting us but it takes 10 years. That is a very long time.

[Man] I have the following question, Mikhail Sergeyevich: Within a radius of some 80 km [word indistinct] ecology has been completely upset. There are no birds, no animals, no fish, no nothing. When you go hunting [words indistinct] you cross the river and you start coming back it's all solid copper, nickel, you can find anything you like but not a single (?partridge) [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Did you hear yesterday's talk about this? Did you get that discussion? Did they transmit that part?

[Voices] They did.

[Man] So how is this issue going to be resolved here?

[Gorbachev] I think we are going to draw up an urgent program for the whole of Krasnoyarsk Kray on issues of nature protection, because these problems have already acquired such dimensions, equally in Krasnoyarsk, in the Kansk-Achinsk basin, and around Norilsk, that they have to be resolved. Today we have here a minister, Comrade Durasov [minister of nonferrous metallurgy] is here; Comrade Batalin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is here; Academician Marchuk is here; and also Academician Koptyug. We (?are going to look at) the scientific side and everything. But things seem to be like this now: We already have the technology and now it is going to be a question of manufacturing this equipment that we are going to have, and the construction which is going to solve these issues. So we will be discussing specifics with your leadership here. But there is one thing, this problem must be solved without delay. [words indistinct, many people talking] Comrades, this is what I think. So much has been done here—and we know the city and the conditions in Norilsk towns—that these issues must be solved. I find it intolerable that this

problem of nurseries [as heard] should remain. I could understand perhaps a problem of housing, after all it is changing all the time, there are improvement problems, and so on.

[Woman] Well, we do not have much of a problem with housing, things are all right with housing, everyone will tell you that. It's the nurseries.

[Man] Our hospitals need improvement.

[Gorbachev] I nevertheless understand that with all these observations and wishes, and they are dictated by your life, your needs, the main issue that is being raised is to go ahead and go on doing things here. [end recording]

[Announcer] The first meeting with the inhabitants of Norilsk. [video shows cars traveling on higway, arriving in a town; a crowd is lined up; camera cuts to show smiling women at the front of the crowd applauding and cheering as they catch sight of Gorbachev and Raisa getting out of the car and walking toward the crowd].

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I have been chatting a great deal on my way here. People have been telling me a great deal.

[Unidentified woman] Yes?

[Gorbachev] I thought that I would come to Norilsk because at least here they would not have any problems and that everything would have been resolved. But no!

[Woman] There are lots of problems.

[Gorbachev] Many, many. It turns out that, after all, things are rather difficult as regards warm clothing.

[Woman] Yes.

[Gorbachev] And for children in particular.

[Unidentified man] Many have to travel to Central Asia for fur coats.

[Woman] Yes, and for boots and (?all sorts) of footwear.

[Another woman] We do not have enough warm clothing here.

[Gorbachev] Well, I will simply promise for now that we will go into it and see what we can now find for you. We will try and go into it. Everyone is interested in housing here and on the mainland. [shouts from crowd of "that's the sorest point"] I was asked this question in Murmansk and I gave instructions that this should be gone into attentively. You know what the difficulty is: If we went thorugh the ministry and the Gosplan channels directly, and built a house in this town, for the disposal, for instance, of your combine; in another town for the people of the north, say Murmansk, or yet for someone else, and so on, this would work out easier. But it turns out that everyone chatting to me today says: No, we want to return to where we came from.

[Woman] That is right, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] You can probably understand that too.

[Man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] You can understand that. And so what one gets is that one wants to go here and the other there. And one person's wishes are not very much taken into account. That is already where dependence on local bodies begins. And a need for housing is everywhere. Something must be devized. Well, to those who wish to settle down here in Siberia, in Krasnoyarsk Kray, I can say that I like the nature in Karsnoyarsk Kray. It is beautiful...

[Man, interrupting] Nature is good.

[Gorbachev] The climate, the forests, and the water expanses. Oleg Semenovich Shenin here—he is first secretary of the party kraykom—they are saying that in Khakass—and that is a very beautiful place, everything grows there, even watermelons—they want to earmark for the combine a site for building both a recreation center and for creating a housing center. Therefore, those who wish to settle here now in Siberia can take advantage of this, to go there (?and do it).

[Woman] And without restrictions, will there be exchange or what, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Man] In accordance with the waiting list...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] In accordance with the waiting list under the combine. But, under the combine. Now it will be the combine doing the building. This is not a local waiting list but yours. That is to say, for those who want to settle here. But for those who want to return to where they came from, it is a problem. It must be thought over, what do to. After all, we have not repealed the laws. Everything remains as before. Both for those who have an apartment on the mainland and here. Everything remains, and for those who have the desire the law also provides. But locally they find it difficult to agree to this. Well, we must consider what we need to do.

[Woman] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the pensions are a bit on the small side for us. It is shameful to go to the mainland with such a pension. All of them there also receive such a pension.

[Gorbachev] This is how they put this issue in Murmansk. For those of us who remain here an added pension element [APE] has to apply a bonus. But if we go away they say, then take the APE away.

[Woman] That is what is needed.

[Gorbachev] If I remain living here, you give me right away the APE and keep in on my pension. [crowd responds with: "Oh that's how it works"] But once I have gone away, then you take away the APE. Then it is already another matter. Maybe that is how we should settle it. That also [word indistinct].

[Woman] Of course, of course, the pensions are on the small side.

[Man] But, the question of the pension regulations is now being examined.

[Gorbachev] As he was telling the comrades there, a new law on pension provision is being drafted. We will be examining all issues there, including those relating to this northern region. Well, after all, what is a pension? And pension provision? If the state had more today, it would give it. The more quickly we earn more on the basis of the reform, with better results, the greater the opportunities will be to raise pensions, too. [end recording]

[Announcer] Norilsk is a town beyond the Arctic Circle, and many issues are being resolved for the first time here. And not without success, either. During the 5-year-plan period the town hall will acquire 900,000 square meters of housing and many social and cultural facilities. Nevertheless, there are quite a number of problems regarding the formation of the town's social infrastructure. There are complaints about the quality of construction. [video shows street scenes; Gorbachev's motorcade arriving in city, waving crowds lining streets and packing square. Gorbachev and Raise Gorbacheva and entourage on raised podium are seen leaning over and talking to crowds just beneath]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] I'm embarrassed to talk about it, but [words indistinct]. For 6 years I've been living in the family hostel, just nearby. My colleagues have a lot of children, there are 300 or more children in our hostel, and the roads aren't even passable, they're not asphalted, they've just been scattered with slag [words indistinct], you can't push a child in a baby carriage down there.

[Raise Gorbacheva, leaning over edge of podium toward unseen speaker] Six years in a family hostel?

[Man] It's not for myself that I'm saying this—my children are already (?grown up).

[Gorbachev] You know what, let me just tell you, you are not making the best use of the circumstances at present, of restructuring. One must give one's leaders a thorough shake-up.

[Woman] But its useless!

[Gorbachev] It's not useless!

[Woman] (?Not useless indeed!) We were given an apartment and the devil knows what's going on there. The housing block was handed over for use in (?1975). When it started to rain, all the walls were running. Then people came to inspect it and asked us why we were dissatisfied.

[Second woman] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you just take a look at the houses that are commissioned here. It's impossible to live in them.

[Gorbachev] Commissioning now, you mean, new ones?

[Woman] Yes, right now. Within 1 month you get huge cracks in the floor. And the doors won't shut, either. It's dreadful, leaking cracks everywhere, and when it rains you get water all over the apartment. And that's not the end of the story.

[Gorbachev] Yet they say here that things have got a bit better here now, apparently.

[Woman] Not at all, no! Things are just as bad as they were!

[Gorbachev] So there's both the one and the other, here. In Krasnoyarsk Kray as a whole it's turned out that production has been pushed forward strongly, while the entire social sphere has been sadly lagging behind. So that is our task now. A start has already been made in this 5-year plan in the kray, and the town is turning in that direction. We must do what's possible in this 5-year plan, but the main thing is to turn things in such a way as to ensure that in the 13th 5-Year Plan abrupt changes come about, that the social sphere is made to catch up. Now, probably, you won't be able to answer every question. Lots of questions have accumulated, I understand you. But you also must understand that that is what our line will be. And I shall try, no matter what, to push it ahead. Let us make a turn, a turn, but let's all turn together. Goodbye! [end recording]

[Announcer, over video of Gorbachev delegation going through a supermarket] The food problem is of particular importance for the north. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev looked around the range of food products in one of the town's supermarkets. Norilsk townsfolk have resolved the food problem by siting stock farms and kitchen gardens 2,000 km further south, near Krasnoyarsk.

TASS Reports on Talks

LD1409215988 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 14 Sep 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Norilsk September 14 TASS—The policy of the CPSU and of the Soviet state "was worked out on the basis of proposals from the working people. And it can be implemented only with your participation." This was said today by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of

the CPSU Central Committtee, during his very first meeting with the working people of Norilsk. Mikhail Gorbachev devoted his third day of his working tour of Krasnoyarsk territory to familiarising himself with this large industrial centre in the north of the USSR and to conversations with its residents.

At the start of the conversation, Mikhail Gorbachev remarked that the activity of the workers of Norilsk is evaluated highly by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. The general secretary very interestedly supported the talk on the problems of ecology of Krasnoyarsk territory. "One ought to bear in mind," he noted, "that these are problems that cannot be resolved at a single stroke, even science does not know how to go about this. But where everything is clear—we shall find the wherewithal and then the situation has to be rectified without delay."

People also expressed such requests whose solution lay well within the power of local authorities and heads of enterprises. In response, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "You are using the restructuring feebly now. You have to shake up your leaders soundly."

After his first conversations with the city's residents Mikhail Gorbachev visited the Nadezhdinsky metallurgical works—the world's largest and modern enterprise producing non-ferrous metals.

Familiarisation with the enterprise began with a detailed conversation with the metallurgists. The workers made remarks about the election of the chairman of the council of the work collective.

Mikhail Gorbachev did not agree with them and said that if the council of the work collective had been formed properly, then the workers would have less questions. "If you consider," he said, "that the election was held incorrectly, you get together and vote again. The Central Committee and the government have promulgated a law which gives the working people the right to genuinely take the affairs into their own hands."

Then the conversation touched on the topic of the reduction of the managerial apparatus. Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the country it amounted to 18 million people. This is for 125-127 million of those working. Out of these 2.5 milion are in ministries and departments and the rest—at enterprises. At some enterprises, in collective and state farms they are cutting down on the managerial apparatus almost by a half in connection with the transition to new methods of economic activity. As regards the ministries, it looks there is going to be a reduction of 700 thousand jobs. [sentence as received] The apparatus is diminishing at the level of central comittees, territory comittees and region committees. It may be that reductions will be less at the level of district and city committees where it is insignificant as it is.

The metallurgists asked about the rotation of cadres during the report-and-election campaign which has begun in the primary party organizations.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the primary party organisations of Krasnoyarsk territory alone, where such elections have been held, 40 per cent of secretaries of primary organisations and 60 per cent in shop and party groups have been replaced. "The people are promoting those whom they believe in," Mikhail Gorbachev summed up.

When the conversation touched on the training of cadres, their election, Mikhail Gorbachev made this proposal: "If you see that you have elected a wrong man, if he is working for himself and is aloof from the people, you yourselves decide the question about him. If you see something wrong at the factory, at the works, you take a look at who is at the head... One worker sent me a letter in which he wrote: 'Mikhail Sergeyevich, give the orders to open fire at headquarters.'"

Mikhail Gorbachev categorically disagreed with the voices which supported the opinion of the author of the letter. "We, he said, are pursuing the restructuring and we are responsible for preventing the country from being split into camps, for preventing the people from head-on clashes. We all know about the 'firing at the headquarters' in China. And then it took the people 15 years to try to understand what they had done.

So let us not repeat that experience: Let us not destroy the house and break everything in it and then ask ourselves: And what have we done?"

"How can we treat the country, which bears responsibility before socialism, in such a way?" Mikhail Gorbachev continued. "We cannot apply to the problems of today the methods of 1937, but in new conditions. We should operate through elections in the party, through elections in the soviets, lay the groundwork for the key solutions of perestroyka through local elections.

"Do you think that I as general secretary do not want all the problems to be solved as soon as possible? How nice it would have been if we could reach agreement today and have things sorted out tomorrow.

"I know that we have one and the same desire: We want to improve things as soon as possible. This is, I repeat, our common desire."

On Wednesday evening the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee returned from Norilsk to Krasnoyarsk.

Gorbachev Arrives in Abakan

LD1509041488 Moscow TASS in English 0410 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Abakan September 15 TASS—The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee continues his trip over Krasnoyarsk Territory. This morning he arrived in Abakan, the capital of Khakass Autonomous Region.

Meets With Residents

LD1509055988 Moscow TASS in English 0550 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Abakan September 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev started the fourth day of his visit to Krasnoyarsk territory with meetings with residents of the capital of Khakass Autonomous Region. In Abakan he had a talk with members of the regional party committee and members of the public.

Mikhail Gorbachev went to Shushenskoye district of Krasnoyarsk territory after a stopover in the capital of Khakass region and meetings with residents of the city.

Visits Lenin Memorial Museum

LD1509073788 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Abakan September 15 TASS—The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is today touring the southern areas of Krasnoyark territory. In the afternoon local time Mikhail Gorbachev visited the memorial museum "The Siberian Exile of Vladimir I. Lenin" at Shushenskoye. The animated and beautiful settlement has carefully preserved part of the historical buildings of the village where the future leader of the October Revolution had lived in exile from 1897 to 1900. Over there Vladimir Lenin had worked on the manuscript of the book "The Development of Capitalism in Russia", had drawn up a number of important programmatic documents and had written more than thirty articles.

The general secretary viewed the exhibits and laid flowers at Lenin Monument.

More on Stepanakert Strike, Armenian Demands

AU1409193888 Paris AFP in English 1913 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Sept 14 (AFP)—Thousands of Armenian nationalists were on strike Wednesday at Stepanakert, the capital of the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh in the republic of Azerbaijan, a member of the Armenian nationalist Karabakh committee said.

Ambarstum Galastyan told AFP that workers went on strike Monday following a meeting of 30,000 people the previous day.

(According to 1984 census figures, there are 33,000 people in the town, of whom 76 per cent are Armenians.)

Mr. Galastian added that workers in Yerevan, the Armenian capital, had begun a meeting Wednesday and may call a one-day strike Friday in support of their Stepanakert compatriots.

Three mass meetings organized by the Karabakh committee had already brought up to 100,000 people on to Yerevan's Opera Square in September, Mr. Galastian said. [passage omitted]

A principal demand of the nationalists is that some 2,000 Azeris who have moved to Nagorno-Karabakh in recent months should be transferred to other parts of Azerbaijan, he added.

Armenian militants have described these Azeris as "false refugees" and said the authorities were encouraging them to settle in Nagorno-Karabakh before a census of the Soviet population due to be completed early in 1989.

The Armenians, who currently make up some 75 per cent of the population of 170,000 in Nagorno-Karabakh, have also called for an end to recent audits of their firms, which they see as veiling a threat of repression against managers favourable to nationalist demands.

The Stepanakert strikers also want the removal of the region's public prosecutor and an end to proceedings against four local residents charged in July of manufacturing weapons, Mr. Galastian said.

They have also called for the construction of a prison in Stepanakert and the transfer, meanwhile, of Armenian convicts to jails outside Azeri jurisdiction, he added. [passage omitted]

Stepanakert 'Paralyzed'

AU1509103288 Paris AFP in English 1027 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Piere Taillefer report]

[Excerpt] Moscow, Sept 15 (AFP)—Workers in Stepanakert, the main city of the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, staged a general strike Thursday in a new flare up of social unrest in the troubled Armenian and Azerbaijan republics, a resident reached by telephone said.

He said that Stepanakert was paralyzed by the strike, and that factories and transportation in the city had been at a standstill since Wednesday.

Only food shops were open. Opposition leaders made the strike call Monday.

Nagorno-Karabakh, an enclave within the borders and under the administration of the Azerbaijan republic, is inhabited mostly by ethnic Armenians who have renewed their demand that the territory be reincorporated into the neighboring Armenian republic.

The unrest appeared to be spreading in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian republic. On Wednesday, some 100,000 protesters gathered in the city's Opera Square in a display of solidarity with the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, according to Ambarstum Galastyan, one of 11 leaders of the Karabakh Committee.

They decided to strike on Friday.

The committee has organized public demonstrations and industrial action since unrest in the two republics began in February following the deaths of 32 people, mostly Armenians, in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait.

In addition to repeating their demand for the reincorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia, workers in Stepenakert have called for the expulsion of some 2,000 ethnic Azeris who fled the Armenian republic in recent months and who are currently living in Nagorny Karabakh, Mr. Galastyan said.

The workers have expressed opposition to Moscow's decision to allocate three million rubles (4.8 million dollars) for the construction of housing for the Azeris in the Nagorno-Karabakh city of Shusha, the source in Stepenakert said.

Similarly, the workers have demanded that eight Armenians arrested in recent months for possession of arms and who are currently being held in Shusha be tried by either an Armenian or Russian court and not by Azerbaijan authorities. [passage omitted].

Estonia's Vyalyas Supports Nationalist Program

AU1509095488 Paris AFP in English 0917 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 15 (AFP)—Estonian party chief Vayno Vyalyas backed Estonian nationalists' main demands in his first public speech since becoming party leader of the Baltic state last June, according to a full report published in the Estonian press reaching here Thursday.

Mr. Vyalyas, at an Estonian Central Committee meeting last Friday, notably spoke out in favour of the creation of Estonian citizenship and affirmed that Estonian should become the republic's official language.

He also said that economic autonomy for Estonia was being actively studied by a working group which would put forward concrete proposals by October 15.

The Soviet Council of Ministers had on August 31 agreed to economic autonomy not only for Estonia and the other formerly-independent Baltic states of Lithuania and Latvia but also for Belorussia, the industrial Russian region of Sverdlovsk and the Tatar Autonomous Republic inside Russia, he revealed.

Economic autonomy means implementing market-oriented reforms throughout industry and agriculture, and cutting links with the Moscow central ministries which had previously controlled the local economies. The move would mean the republics involved would exchange goods and services by paying world prices for the first time.

Mr. Vyalyas castigated the party for its loss of prestige in the last one-and-a-half years, and backed the emergence of a non-official movement with a strong nationalist base, the Popular Front.

"The pluralism of opinions does not threaten the system, and does not rule out a leading role by the party," he said.

All the changes that Mr. Vyalyas backed in his speech, which took up three full pages in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, had been demanded by the Popular Front.

He sharply criticised the police and prosecutor's office for "negligence and rudeness" and their obsession with secrecy, pointing out that police in the Estonian capital Tallinn often did not speak Estonian. "The poor knowledge of Estonian in the police makes us doubt their professionalism," he said.

Mr. Vyalyas also commented on shortcomings in the Russian-language media which had failed to keep abreast of social developments in the republic, where Estonians make up 60 per cent of the 1.5 million population.

He stressed that Estonians should "not become a minority" in Estonia, and announced that the Estonian government had asked Moscow to end privileges, such as priority for housing, granted to non-Estonians who settle in the Baltic state.

But the Estonian leader made it clear that while he backed measures to reinforce the Estonians' national rights, there was no question of secession from the Soviet Union.

On Sunday, Mr. Vyalyas was applauded as he sat at a rally organised by the Popular Front attended by 300,000 people. An Estonian journalist contacted Thursday by AFP said his speech was "the first time in Estonian history that the party expressed views that coincide with those of the people."

Estonian 'Perestroyka' Official Interviewed

AU1409122288 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 10 Sep 88 p 10

[Interview with Rein Veidemann, chairman of the program commission of the Estonian People's Front for the Support of Perestroyka (Rahvarinde) and publisher of the VIKERKAAR periodical, by Barbara von Ow; date and place not given]

[Text] [Ow] Nobody talked about the Baltic republics for a long time. Owing to mass demonstrations and radical reform proposals, they have made the headlines for a year now. Why has Estonia become the trailblazer of perestroyka?

[Veidemann] We owe this development to Mikhail Gorbachev alone. Everything that happened last year would have been impossible under Brezhnev. Gorbachev was the first Soviet general secretary to visit Estonia (early in 1987). People not only back his reforms, they like him.

[Ow] Do people not primarily hope for more national autonomy?

[Veidemann] We are aware of a historic opportunity. We have waited for such a development for more than 50 years. For the first time we are fighting for our central right—the right to survive as a nation.

[Ow] So far, there has been no indication that Gorbachev will embark on a more liberal course regarding the problem of nationalities.

[Veidemann] Gorbachev's policy toward nationalities has not been clear so far. He apparently intends to follow Lenin in this respect. But Lenin's position on the problem of nationalities was not clear either; it became more liberal only in the end. There is no doubt that even under Gorbachev Moscow will admit only reluctantly that mistakes were made regarding national minorities.

[Ow] New demonstrations have been reported from the Baltic republics almost every month. Is there not the danger that the development of the People's Front is getting out of control?

[Veidemann] We are living with a sense of historic responsibility. We know only too well that we do not get a chance like this one every day. We all remember the violent end of the "Prague spring." The unrest in Armenia was also a warning signal for us. However, the Estonians have learned to keep their emotions under control. We are determined not to allow things to escalate.

[Ow] You refer to the "Prague spring." Where do you see the most important parallels with, and differences from, the reform communists of 1968?

[Veidemann] The most important parallels: Then, like today, the intellectuals played a leading role in the reform movement. Historically there are common elements as well: Just like Czechoslovakia, Estonia became an independent state for the first time after 1918 and was an autonomous democracy for 20 years. Some passages of the Prague "Manifesto of 2000 words" of 1968 are a model for the program of the People's Front. The most important differences: We do not (yet) have a Dubcek. Time will tell whether our new party chief Valjas is a Dubcek. In fact, things are happening in Estonia which would not be possible in Prague today. The "Prague spring" 20 years ago was a test of the Soviet Union as a state. Now Estonia is a litmus test of Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

[Ow] PRAVDA for the first time warned about "demagogues" and "opponents of socialism" in the People's Front. Where are the limits to Rahvarinde's activities?

[Veidemann] That is the problem: Where is the limit beyond which political repression is provoked? The limit has become blurred. The danger is that we might transgress it unconsciously. We are greatly concerned about a political overthrow in Moscow. In that case, it would perhaps not be possible to totally destroy us. But it would mean difficult times for us.

[Ow] What is the People's Front's long-term political goal?

[Veidemann] It is our goal to build a political democracy in our country. This is only possible with a policy of small steps. Our task in this respect is only partly to help Gorbachev. We must try in particular to institutionalize the changes and protect our nation from opponents of the reform. The People's Front sees itself as a "school of democracy." We want to help groom a new generation of politicians.

[Ow] Despite these goals, the People's Front expressly does not want to be considered an opposition party.

[Veidemann] The People's Front is not and does not want to be an opposition party. However, it is not opposed to the emergence of other opposition parties. It sees itself as an umbrella organization of various independent groups. In addition, our draft program states expressly that the Front would possibly be dissolved and its functions transferred to "other democratic institutions," if a democratic society were to come into being.

[Ow] Are the "opponents of reform" who threaten the People's Front not also to be found in the ranks of the Estonian Communist Party—in addition to Moscow?

[Veidemann] Yes, our opponent is the conservative wing of the Estonian Communist Party. As in all of the country, about 50 percent of the party are Russians. Many Russians here believe they represent the Soviet power; they are afraid of losing their positions. Our

biggest enemies are the chauvinist anti-Estonian radicals among the Russians, who have united in the International Front. They are still a small group, but we must be careful, lest it become a Trojan horse.

[Ow] What Rahvarinde is pursuing is a piece of brinkmanship: It is demanding total economic autonomy and far-reaching cultural independence for the Estonians. Unlike more radical groups however, such as the newly founded Party for Estonia's Independence, it does not demand political independence. Can these demands really be separated?

[Veidemann] There is no doubt that the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, under which Estonia was annexed by the Soviet Union, was a political mistake with disastrous consequences. But it is a reality that we are part of the Soviet Union, quite apart from the fact that nobody in the world would help us to become independent states again. We want to reorganize our relations with the Soviet Union. We demand a new union agreement with Moscow, in which our national interests are taken into account to a larger degree. The individual Soviet republics differ substantially from each other; they must be given more leeway. If our demands are not considered, it may be possible, however, that we, too, will demand political independence.

[Ow] Do you and the other intellectuals of the party, who initiated the People's Front, believe that the communist system can be reformed from within?

[Veidemann] When I joined the party 20 years ago, we all believed that the system could only be reformed from within. However, we know now that opposition from outside is necessary. The problem is: Who acts as a check on the party? The answer now is the journalists, the press. So far, the writers have been the only organs expressing our concerns. Now the time of the journalists has come. We hope that the day will come soon when the administration of justice will be independent. It is our greatest hope that a new generation will grow up which will develop an awareness of the historic truth. If we achieve that, this would in itself be a reason for new optimism.

Ministry 'Unjustly' Delaying AES Decision

LD1509090588 Kiev in English to North America 2330 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] We have already reported on the anxiety of the residents of Nikolayev with the planned expansion of the south Ukrainian nuclear power plant. They are demanding that the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering reject this plan as ecologically unsafe.

Nonetheless, the ministry is unjustly dragging out the solution of this issue. The anxious residents of Nikolayev Oblast held a meeting in the administrative center, at which they said resolute no to the construction of the nuclear power station. They proposed to immediately hold a session of the Ukraine SSR Acedemy of Sciences in Nikolyev together with the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering, the republic's nature protection committee and the public of the oblast. Adopted at this session should be the necessary solution concerning the south Ukrainian nuclear power plant.

Azerbaijan Journalists Union Personnel Changes

NC1309093388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] The plenum held by the Azerbaijan SSR Journalists Union has examined the tasks of the republic's media organs in light of the decisions adopted by the 19th all-union party conference and the August 1988 Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The report, read by Gadzhi Gadzhiyev, secretary of the Executive Board of the Azerbaijan SSR Journalists Union, and the addresses delivered during the meeting noted that journalists must actively implement the decisions adopted by the 19th all-union party conference and mobilize their [words indistinct] and creative opportunities to contribute toward the effort to resolve matters concerning the upgrading of the pace of socioeconomic development in the republic.

It was also noted that the press organs and the radio and television network should regard the patriotic and international training of the workers, young people in particular, as one of their main tasks.

The plenum released Comrade Ratib Zeynalov from his responsibilities as chairman of the Executive Board of the Azerbaijan SSR Journalists Union. Comrade Gadzhi Gadzhiyev was elected as chairman of the Executive Board of the Azerbaijan SSR Journalists Union. Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

Kolbin Interviewed on Situation in Kazakhstan

AU1309112788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, by V. Akimov and M. Chirkov in Alma-Ata: "Along the Line of Restructuring and Acceleration"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] **It is frequently said: A feeling of comradeship makes the job easier. Winning new friends and strengthening friendship, expanding creative contacts and getting to know the fraternal people better—these are the tasks facing the participants in the Kazakh SSR Literature and Art Days that will take place in the Ukraine from 7 to 14 September. On the eve of this important event, the correspondents of the Telegraph Agency under the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers (KazTAG), at RATAU request, met G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and asked him a number of questions.**

[Question] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, the times in which we are living are interesting and filled with many important, truly historic events. How would you describe the essence of the changes taking place in the republic?

[Kolbin] First of all, in management there can be seen a transition from administrative to predominantly economic methods that provide a reliable barrier against directive commands "from the center" and against small-minded guardianship, and that helps draw ever more urban and rural laborers into the orbit of restructuring. These life-giving positive processes are developing in an organic and, I would say, mutually beneficial connection with the constantly widening democratization and glasnost, and with the growing activity of the masses. [passage omitted]

It goes without saying, in this highly complex and responsible work it was essential to determine the link making it possible to pull out the entire chain of the difficult heritage of the period of stagnation, to fully restore the confidence of the widest masses of people, to ensure their interested participation in switching Soviet society over to a qualitatively new development level.

The following choice was made: to improve by all means the moral and psychological climate in the republic. For this purpose efforts have been made to eradicate protectionism, bribery, and other adverse phenomena. The central press has already reported on the trials of high-ranking embezzlers of public funds in Kazakhstan, on the voluntary restitution to the state of goods obtained unlawfully—including very large sums of money—and on the struggle against "snowdrops" [podsnezhniki; those profiting unlawfully in private enterprises as a result of restructuring].

For this reason I will not repeat myself. I will only note that we did not have to wait long for the results. People have seen and clearly realized, for example, that honesty and truth, humaneness and the law are not mere words, but everlasting values, an obligatory ground for sound relations and for our Soviet way of life. Having accepted this restored truth with their minds and hearts, the republic's working people "switched on" their entire creative potential, all the energies that had been dormant. Precisely then socialist modernization in Kazakhstan received its first and, it must be said, powerful impetus. The necessary conditions have been created for settling complex problems that have been pressing for a long time. [passage omitted]

[Question] Particular attention has now been paid to improvements in nationality relations and to relations among nationalities. How is Kazakhstan's party organization building its work in this vitally important sphere?

[Kolbin] In the past, very serious miscalculations and errors were made in the republic in the pursuit of the nationality policy. The struggle against the manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and parochialism came to nothing, and cadres were frequently selected on the basis of clan or tribal association, and personal loyalty. All that of course affected the moral and psychological climate in the republic in the most pernicious way.

Quite a number of honest people expressed anxiety about all this, but their opinions were hushed up by all means, and real hunts for "dissidents" were organized. In addition, in order to please the republic's former leadership, propaganda, at that time remarkable for hare-brained schemes and the practice of paying compliments, continued to trumpet allegations that Kazakhstan was a shinging example of how to deal with the nationality problem, a "planet of 100 languages," a "laboratory for friendship among peoples," and so forth. In the meantime, the republic was increasingly abandoning the positions it had won, and was turning into the various patrimonies of appanage princelets. One obkom first secretary was even publicly called "Uly," the great.... We know the results of that.

The problems of nationality and inter-nationality relations do not surface immediately; they accumulate while waiting for their settlement. Take, for example, "blank spots" in history that have lasted for decades, or the scandalous lagging behind of a number of regions and oblasts where patriarchal bent prevails among their leaders, there is no modern industry, and a great shortage of kindergartens, schools, and clubs. Or take the Aral Sea and Lake Balkhash, the disappearance of which would imperil the vital interests of the peoples of not only Kazakhstan, but also the adjacent republics. The communists' jobs is not restricted to proclaiming equal rights for every nation and nationality; it is also to ensure their actual equality in fact, to see to it that all immediate social, economic, and cultural problems are settled in a comprehensive way.

In this connection it is particularly important to work among the creative intelligentsia who are the most capacious carriers of the ideas of national self-awareness. After all, it is precisely and above all the creative intelligentsia who actively influence its formation. The following fact is disturbing: In the incoming mail of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee there are many letters about conflicts in the milieu of the intelligentsia—among lecturers, scientific workers, physicians, even journalists and writers.

A harsh tone injuring the self-esteem of some functionaries, the aspiration of the latter to suppress "dissent" by any means, intrigues—these are some "methods of communication" used in the intellectual milieu, methods that in one way or another turn into negative factors in relations among nationalities. Anticipating in party work potentially dangerous factors that might affect the sensitive national nerves even by chance serves to enhance the culture of inter-nationality relations in the lives both of individual people and of large collectives.

And here is one more important thing. We take it as a rule: not to be afraid of discussions, but to encourage them by every means and to participate in them, of course provided that the form and content of opinions expressed do not go against our rules and the law. After all, an element of creativity is inherent in discussion itself: to become aware of the need to change or to improve something, people have to be dissatisfied with things as they are. A critical evaluation of achievements provides the initial impetus for revolutionary changes.

For this reason the republic's party organization has adopted a firm policy aimed at uniting and rallying all creative forces for the sake of restructuring and renewing our society. I am confident that the Kazakh SSR Literature and Art Days in the Ukraine—vivid new evidence of the strengthening links among the fraternal peoples of the land of the Soviets—will also serve this noble purpose.

Uzbek Society for Knowledge Board Holds Plenum

NC1409080888 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] The board of the Uzbek SSR Society for Knowledge held a plenum to examine the tasks of organizations affiliated with the society in connection with the question of propagating and realizing the decisions adopted by the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The speakers at the plenum noted that the level of the lecture propaganda in that regard fell short of meeting contemporary demands.

The meeting established ways to upgrade the (?level of propaganda made in that regard).

The plenum also discussed the question of organization. Due to his appointment as chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Khabibullayev was released from his responsibilities as member and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Society for Knowledge. [Name indistinct], president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, was appointed as member and chairman of the board of the Uzbek SSR Society for Knowledge. [Name indistinct], secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum [words indistinct].

Local Media To Broadcast in National Languages

LD1209122588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] We have a review of the weekly GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA, which we usually put out on Mondays at this time in the program. I have in my hands the latest copy of the weekly. Let me focus your attention on the interview given by Dmitryuk, Collegium member of the USSR State Television and Radio Committee and head of the main board.

The conversation revolves around the role of radio and television in improving interethnic relations and what is to be done in this area. There is much to be done. For instance, local studios will soon open in all autonomous republics and okrugs. They will broadcast in the national languages of the given territory. As for the Central Television, it intends to organize a program of interethnic links on the second channel. The weekly invites its readers to express their views on what this program should be like.

Yakovlev, Latvian Media Leaders Meet 10 Aug

WA18000656A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Aug 88 p 3

[LATINFORM report on meeting between A.N. Yakovlev and mass information media leaders on 10 August in Zakyusala: "The Responsibility of a Journalist"]

[Text] On 10 August A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the television center at Zakyusala, where he met with leaders of the mass information media.

The editor of the newspaper TSINYA, Ya.P. Britans, told about the participation of Latvian journalists in restructuring, the increased popularity and run of the republic newspapers and magazines, as well as greater reader activeness. In this context he expressed regret over the question of restricting subscriptions to the 1988 level. The editor raised the question of the need to decentralize publishing activities. The republic journalists, Ya.P. Britans noted, support your thesis that we in publications should take up the most complex problems and reflect various opinions. We are endeavoring to follow this. This is a nuance; this is international relations. The mail of TSINYA is split on this question. The question of questions is how to present this polarity without insulting any group. Incautious articles evoke an undesirable response.

The problems involved in treating the history of the republic are related to this. A great deal of newspaper space has been given to these problems to the detriment of other, equally important problems. When, under the conditions of glasnost, the activities of the national and republic leadership are treated more fully, the newspapers have cut back on the space for their own materials. Moreover, it is essential to publish announcements. Obviously, the question must be raised of additional newspaper space.

K.K. Dundurs, the director of the Publishing House of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, drew the attention of the CPSU Central Committee secretary to the fact that Latvia has lost the high positions in printing which it once had, that the physical plant is obsolete, and that there is a growing shortage of personnel. This is not a republic problem, the director emphasized. He also raised the question of the need to free

ourselves from the practice of seeking approval from the center on various questions; to improve the supply of office equipment for journalists; to provide material incentives for them, depending upon the popularity of the publication; and to improve domestic and working conditions. It is essential, he affirmed, to show a more flexible approach to forming editorial personnel. There are too many consultations with Moscow.

A.N. Yakovlev: Prepare me a list of these questions and we will have a look. A few words on personnel. I do not know your specific features, but from certain observations in Moscow it seems to me that at times there is more personnel than are needed. For instance, with regard to departments involved with letters to the editors. If you take the published letters as they actually come to the editors, then there is no problem. But if you rewrite them, then you will need tens of thousands of people.

I worked in an editorial office. I headed the section and myself rewrote the articles. This practice still continues. They say: How can you publish the articles without this!? Such conceit! If we do rewrite, then it is something else. And it more often happens that when we publish an article as it is, it is read. When it is redone, it is not read. I myself, comrades, am continuously concerned with the question of how we must organize things. It is constantly said that the newspaper is the tribune of the people. Let it be the tribune of the people. Let us publish precisely how the people write. Of course, it is possible to shorten in some places but not to rewrite. Original language is turned into rote. The obligatory references and quotes appear. Possibly here we have some reserves.

Voices: There are.

A.N. Yakovlev: The space has certainly not changed but the staffs have increased.

Ya.P. Britans: Last year they declined.

A.N. Yakovlev: But the newspapers themselves have raised the question thus. Search for your own reserves. On each editorial staff, as you already know well enough, one-third works and two-thirds must learn, to put it mildly.

The chairman of the republic State Radio and Television, Ya.Ya. Leya, said that journalists are waiting with impatience for the law on glasnost. This will help to clarify relations.

We have one common home, the Soviet Union. With all of our forces we must strengthen its foundation, walls, and roof. But when we take up the question of the nationality apartments, we often are led astray as to who is right and who is wrong. We are placing very great hope on the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationality questions. We request that more attention be given to it in the mass information media.

The editor of the newspaper LAUKA AVIZE, V.P. Krustinsh, drew attention to the fact that over a period of 3 years the reader has changed greatly. He is no longer the same person as he was before. Conclusions must be drawn from this. There is an unusual number of letters. It is time to recognize that ideological work is an area into which capital must be invested. This produces a return. Our Central Committee should be more independent on press questions. We do not have the legal right to purchase even a dictaphone.

In a period of 6 months, there were 600 letters for each staff worker. Very serious mail, as never before. You, as a member of the Politburo, would find it important to know that our readers support the policy of the Politburo and the general secretary. They write about this and wish good health so that there can be more efforts in this regard. But there is also a definite concern; they recognize that it will be difficult for Comrade Gorbachev. It is very labor-intensive work to handle such letters and to prepare articles to meet the level of today's requirements. I cannot agree that our staffs are presently optimal.

The editor of the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, M.A. Chaklays, raised the question of the need to duplicate the newspapers in Russia, since the newspaper raises acute problems also concerning the Russian-speaking population. However, due to an ignorance of the language, many are deprived of an opportunity to participate in the discussion of such issues. The involvement of the entire population in the cultural life of Latvia is very important, as this leads to consolidation.

A.N. Yakovlev: A fine idea, but there is not enough paper. I am very grieved that we have had to leave the press runs at the level of last year. But even for this we must have an additional 50,000 tons of paper. We struck an agreement with Comrade Ryshkov to reduce paper exports by 30,000 tons. We have had to resort to this extreme step.

Comrades, we have neglected this sector. No one was particularly interested in the press. The press needed restructuring, but there was no paper and no printing equipment. I, in truth, am amazed (although generally no one was concerned for the economics either), this has been a profitable undertaking.

M.A. Chaklays: But still I would like to repeat my proposal. At present, a Russian edition is very essential. This is an ideological question and very important.

A.V. Gorbunov, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: Let us cut back on the paper expenditure in the departments. These reserves exist.

A.N. Yakovlev: We have reduced the paper supply for offices by 40 percent and they get by. Possibly we should cut back another 40 percent?

Laughter, voices: Of course.

V.A. Stefanovich, deputy editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, pointed out that glasnost has provided the information media with great opportunities. But the grass roots party committees have often not accepted these changes. At the same time, he said, we have reached mutual understanding with the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party on how to carry out the party line and at the same time reflect public opinion as it exists at any given stage.

A.N. Yakovlev: Why do you put it that way: "At the same time reflect public opinion"? It is the party line to reflect public opinion.

The opinion was voiced that the newspapers receive too many official materials. A.Ya. Tsirulis, editor of the newspaper PADOMYU YAYNATNE, took up the questions of the actual organization of newspaper operations, self-financing, and the wages of the journalists.

Then A.N. Yakovlev spoke. He proposed that questions related to the physical plant be discussed in detail with specialists who could be sent to Riga and focused his attention on the role and tasks of the press in restructuring.

The changes, he said, should also involve the press. I am in no way convinced that the current structure should be maintained. It is essential to determine which newspapers are needed and which are not. Certainly it is said that there are many unneeded publications, but as soon as you take up the closing down of any little magazine, you will not encounter agreement. We still do not have enough publications for children and youth, both in the republics and nationwide. For example, what is there for a juvenile of 12-15 years of age to read? Nothing. And we need an additional 100,000 tons of paper, for only then can we breathe easier.

We also have similar problems in light industry, in children's toys, in housing construction, and you name it. Naturally, what we have a lot of in our nation—and here there is no shortage—is money, and there is a lot of it. This impedes us greatly. We make a mistake when we give money which is in no way secured and when there is not a commodity security for it. Here is when the machinations begin. The same is true of your wages, the question you just raised. The more money we give without providing the equivalent in commodities, the more the critical mass of fury will accumulate.

It is a fact over which you should polemicize, debate, and voice different viewpoints. I say this in an obliging manner. This you should do and it is not a question of whether you can or cannot. This is your duty, precisely to debate. I frequently say that you all can. But here we are caught by the old habit that this is my opinion! We do have autocratic, totalitarian thinking. So there is my opinion and there is the incorrect one.

In your newspapers I have read that you were offended by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. But there you will also find healthy comments. I do not share certain criticisms directed at us. The press is a showcase of facts, but the main thing still is to delve into phenomena. At times an effort is made to accuse a journalist of raising an acute question. That is the job of a journalist. But when there is no question, or when one has been raised, and a lie has been told, then this is a different matter altogether. I would not say that we, the journalists, have not merited the rebuke. In order to understand others, including the party leadership, we must look self-critically at ourselves. The truth should grow from a self-critical assessment of our own activities.

Why do we criticize the press? A journalist has expressed a viewpoint. Then a different one appears. "I do not want to print this as it undermines the prestige of the publication." That is bad, comrades. That is not how things should be put. The plank has been raised high; let us keep it up and not dive under it. We do not take a dive very often. And this is the case now. The press has won a reputation of which both you and I are proud. But first of all, we ourselves must be democratic; we must set the example. Authoritarian thinking still oppresses us. You demand that others take off their uniforms, but you yourself cannot bring yourself to take off the shoulderboards. If that were the case, then there would be fewer complaints and you would have a stronger position.

The second thing is, comrades, not to lie. Conservatism has changed tactics. It no longer argues against the essence but argues from the facts. Some smile with satisfaction in having gotten away with printing an untruth. Why is this done? I myself have worked on a newspaper and I know how difficult this is. We say constantly: Check the facts. This is a law in journalism. We know it and still do not check. One is too lazy to pick up the telephone, too lazy to write correctly the person's name. It is somewhat grotesque for me to say that a person who has been slandered in the press a couple of times can be a true journalist. Realize how shameful it is for people when you write an untruth. There is also the question of morality. Write what you consider essential in accordance with your understanding and responsibility, but write the truth. You speak about the press law, but I am not convinced whether this would be better for you. Things have already gone to court. I have never publically come out against the Memory Soviet, but they have hauled me to court.

One other suggestion. Conduct the broadest debates and draw the truth from different views. But take a very balanced attitude toward words, particularly when it is a question of nationality relations. By words we must not split people apart but bring them together. As soon as you begin to seek the truth in contradictions, you deepen them. As soon as you begin to follow the line of reconciling interests, you will help things. Of course, one must see another aspect of this question. It is essential to develop one's own traditions, language, and culture.

Only on this basis can we move toward the higher stage of culture, higher intelligence, and higher intellectualism. Only in this manner and not by trying to make everyone fit the same pattern.

This concerns all cultures and all languages. But when they exceed the limit, when they begin to feel so much for one nationality, so much for a second, so much for a third, a little bell begins ringing inside: this is not so. We must shift our view: How many decent and honest people we have. One must proceed from moral principles. Let me again categorically confirm my unshaken opinion: We must broaden the rights of the republics and national formations so that people feel themselves to be the masters of both the republic and the region. Only then will a person learn to be responsible for things and to gain pleasure from life. But a pain must not be allowed to develop into an illness. A pain is understandable. We would not be people if we did not have sympathy, mercy, and pain for something.

In articles on the nationality question, one must show the greatest responsibility. There are few who would not say so. And I realize how this is perceived. How else but how this fact is described on television and in a literary newspaper? We must delve more deeply into the phenomenon. Much in our life is the result of certain social relations. Let us change the social relations. The restructuring is essential for this. Let us become involved in social relations in order to eradicate coarseness, a lack of culture, and primitiveness. But we approach from the other direction saying, let this person become cultured immediately. This will not happen.

We ourselves are no longer the same as we were before. But let us not portray ourselves as the keepers of the truth. Others also see and understand everything. I was a little bitter about what happened at the conference. Not because they criticized us, but rather because we provided grounds for this. Why, for example, did V. Korotich have to publish the day the conference opened an article about graft, particularly an anticonstitutional article, as an investigator does not have the right to rule on a crime. Only the court has such a right . But now they are talking not so much about OGONEK as about all of us saying that this is the sort of press we have!

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has written about privileges. We closed down our dining room. And the first to complain were the writers who also used it together with journalists, artists, and other creative workers.

A.N. Yakovlev drew attention to elements of confrontation between the party workers and the press in the republic. What should you do? I have already spoken about this to the members of the Central Committee Bureau, and I will also rebuke you. We are all working for the same thing. Or do some of us not require restructuring? What is the press without restructuring? And who started the restructuring? The party. Here is the key for you. We are all in the same boat. You can encounter both a bureaucrat among the party workers and the eccentric among the journalists who flaunts his vanity: "Oh, how talented I am!" But why generalize?! I repeat. We are all in the same boat. Give some thought to this.

At the plenum, which you found insulting, there were individual instances when the critics were right. For example, you took the side of the "Greens," but when there were just a few of them at a volunteer Saturday workday, you were silent. With the most acute positing of the question, it is essential to remember that we are involved in a common undertaking; we must not obstruct but help one another.

There is a cautious attitude toward the press, this I know. But times are such and the old way of thinking holds us back strongly. And you still lag behind the central press. You must be more aggressive. Both of your leading newspapers must be more lively. The question is not that you are being "suffocated" by a semiofficial body and possibly not by a noose knotted securely, but by a thread of the past. As for both the literary and youth newspaper, I would like to recall Saltykov-Shchedrin and his ideas about people who run "ahead of progress." As is known, this is impossible and for this reason Saltykov-Shchedrin made ironic fun of it. But attempts to run "ahead of progress" are clearly being observed. They are just as harmful as the inveterate conservatism. You must give more thought about the consequences of what you have written. I know how a word behaves and what a pity it is to erase what has been written. Do not be afraid of correcting yourself, no matter how talented you are.

In conclusion, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee took up the problems of the competence of journalists, the training and indoctrination of personnel for the press, and wished success in this work.

Also participating in the meeting were Comrades B.K. Puga and V.P. Sobolev.

Solutions to Management 'Chaos' Sought

PM1309101188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Sep 88 p 2

["Our Dialogues" interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Shcherbakov, first deputy chief of a USSR Council of Ministers department and member of the Commission for Improving Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism, by correspondent Ye. Leontyeva: "The Reform Reveals Interests"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The all-union party conference confirmed it: We are on the right course of economic reform. It drew the conclusion that the economic mechanism needs further improvement. What measures are being elaborated along which avenues—Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Shcherbakov, first deputy chief of a USSR Council of Ministers department and member of the Commission

for Improving Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism, spoke about this in a conversation with our correspondent Ye. Leontyeva.

[Leontyeva] Vladimir Ivanovich, could we begin with a few words about your assessment of the shortcomings which have already come to light in the course of the reform of economic management?

[Shcherbakov] They are not fundamentally important and can be attributed to the fact that the initial stage was very difficult. It is well known that, until June of last year, there was still no system of action or developed concept of reform. There were signs of a system, there were attempts to shape it. But since there is no time to waste, "planning and construction" were done simultaneously.

[Leontyeva] In the course of current debates about the deficiencies of the economic mechanism, some people avoid the core question and reduce the problem to nothing more than discovering culprits. Some try to shift the blame for failures and mistakes onto the experts while others—including some experts—blame party officials for everything. But both are unanimous in their joint abuse of departments....

[Shcherbakov] I am profoundly convinced that there is no point in trying to find culprits in such an important matter. Why? Because ultimately it is not all that important to know who left more things undone—experts or party and economic officials. They all left undone things that should have been done. As to who left more things undone—that is merely a matter of moral satisfaction. It is far more important for us all to think about what to do in the future.

The habit of blaming someone is typical of people who are holding tight to their official position, no matter what that position might be. This method is well known historically: At all times, leading figures and individual groups wishing to distract society's attention from the truth have promoted the false goal of seeking scapegoats. And such attempts have been launched whenever they felt that their policy had been deadlocked....

Generally speaking, all the chaos stems from the fact that we are setting a fundamentally new task without immediately offering a mechanism for its solution. Many people cannot work out for themselves how to work and how to behave in the new conditions—like central apparatus officials, for example. And so they start acting unsystematically or using the old bureaucratic methods. But this does not mean that all central apparatus officials are applying the brakes on restructuring. My colleagues and I, for example, work 6 days a week, and virtually nobody leaves to go home before 2100. Does this mean that we are spending 13-15 hours a day doing nothing but applying the brakes? It would be better if we stopped "witch-hunting" or looking for some miracle-weapon.

[Leontyeva] Vladimir Ivanovich, what is your opinion of the next tasks in the restructuring of the country's economic management? To which links could it be extended?

[Shcherbakov] First is the economic mechanism itself, the principles of its building and the conditions of its efficient functioning. Problem-solving methods are especially important. Second, there ought to be a more precise definition of the basic link that is the main target of reform. Reform would be ineffective if we were to target it on something with which we are still unfamiliar. It is no good working "in the dark." The third point: What ought to be the shape of the organizational structure of the national economy's management? Should we retain the present system of administrative subordination with ministries playing the main role, or should we find some other form more fully in line with the concept of the basic link's economic independence. And fourth: What is to happen to the territorial economy? It is impossible to expand the economic independence of its links without knowing what rights are vested in it, what its structure is, and who should finance its development, the feeding of people, and the construction of housing.

I think that these four problems are the central ones. And all four of them require a full range of serious and radical measures. The central position belongs to the choice of economic model. It is already clear today that it would be better to implement a radical economic reform on remainder-based economic accountability [ostatochniy khozraschet], in other words the second model. This is an effective method of making the funds earned by an enterprise (and consequently each worker's salary and social security) dependent on the end results of its activity. At present, however, only 840 enterprises have adopted the second model—after all, the law allows the enterprise itself to choose its model. It was simpler in the past—a Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution would be adopted and everybody would be transferred to the economic accountability model that was deemed necessary. Today we have to apply economic methods, give incentives to those who have opted for the second model, and offer them advantages.

[Leontyeva] But so far enterprises that have switched to remainder-based economic accountability have seen none of them. Hence the majority of these 840 enterprises made their choice in an absolutely formal way. Or could you recommend somebody's experience to be studied?

[Shcherbakov] No, today I would not risk propagandizing somebody's experience since I know of no examples in which the second model has been systematically applied. Conditions have not been created to ensure its effective functioning.

[Leontyeva] The press is now debating a third model—that of lease-based economic accountability [arendnyy khozraschet]. What are the prospects for this type of economic accountability?

[Shcherbakov] I do not think that there are any fundamental differences between the full second model and the lease-based model. There are shades of difference rather than fundamental differences as regards the mechanism for the formation and distribution of funds. You earn whatever you earn. You settle with everybody, and all the rest is yours. It is a different matter that normatives for the distribution of economically accountable income are still built into the second model. They somehow remind economic managers: You are not altogether independent, the state is still holding you back and directing you. Under leasing conditions, however, the enterprise moves away from centrally set normatives.

[Leontyeva] The main merit of leasing and its most important difference is the fact that workers are most closely involved in ownership, and property is more fully at their disposal. Is there any need to say how important it is to overcome the workers' alienation? Leasing is thus in harmony with the democratization process now under way in society. Gavriil Popov quite aptly described it as a model of stewardship.

[Shcherbakov] Remainder-based economic accountability pursues exactly the same goal, but we have everybody participating in production out of the habit of independent economic thinking. A large percentage of economic leaders cannot tell the elementary differences between national income and national wealth [natsionalnyy sostav]. One-half of all directors, let alone workers and technologists, could not tell you the effect of their production or how to work with consumers. So many directors are still unwilling to run the risk of climbing on the bandwagon known as full independence.

There are also deeper rooted reasons why. We are still in a situation of universal shortages. The more complex the production process and the more mutual ties you have, the shakier your position is. For example, the Volga Motor Vehicles Plant has almost 2,000 suppliers. How are the labor collective council and the leadership to take on full responsibility for all their economic affairs when these 2,000 suppliers behave in any way they like?

In my view, there is hardly any future in leasing enterprises producing complex output. Leasing is more suitable when the production process is simpler: production of construction materials and simple construction projects like rural homes and various outbuildings. It is also possible in light and local industry like, for example, in the manufacture of clothing, footwear, and crockery. Leasing must be more widely introduced there, especially at smaller enterprises where people know each other well, where they are capable of working matters out for themselves and seeing who does what sort of work.

For example, the Sumy science and production association submitted a proposal to transfer to leasing. Our commission discussed this proposal and has so far not given its consent. Why should a major association fall out of the plan management system? Why should a highly profitable enterprise be leased? Even the mechanism suggested by people in Sumy is dubious—they want to switch to fixed payments to the state virtually identical to the charges for resources. And this is disadvantageous.

[Leontyeva] Leasing is not working also because it is disadvantageous for officials from economic organs that identify their policy with state policy. They are in fact the owners of property. Now it is proposed that this property should be handed over to the direct producers of wealth.

[Shcherbakov] I too belong to the group of people who hold this view of state interests. It will make no difference at all to me personally whether the Sumy science and production association operates on a lease basis or on the second model. Much will change within the collective, but will the state not lose?

[Leontyeva] We will have more owners, and neither society nor the state can lose from this.

[Shcherbakov] Now we come to an exceptionally serious problem. There are different views of systematic management. Life might be the way it is in some countries where provinces are rich and the state is poor. Say that all our enterprises become rich. It is a major question whether this will make the state rich. Of course, the state is not all that rich, either, when all resources are held by the center and the enterprise is poor....

[Leontyeva] So, is our state poor or rich?

[Shcherbakov] It is rich in resources, brain power, and capital, but it is poor from the economic viewpoint. This was demonstrated by Vasiliy Selyunin in his article, even though I disagree with a number of his propositions and do not share his viewpoint.

[Leontyeva] I think that his viewpoint was backed by the party conference. In his speech, M.S. Gorbachev talked about redistribution of the national income to the consumer's advantage. And that was Selyunin's main thesis, which was objected to by many economists. One of his other theses was that it is impossible to tackle two things at once—quality and pace. It would be better to forgo pace since, in respect of many products, we produce more than anyone else in the world. It would be better to save resources, he believes, than to waste them on output destined for storage.

[Shcherbakov] I personally have always been against pace for pace's sake. But let us get back to the choice of model. How is an enterprise to be encouraged to opt for the more radical one? In order to achieve this we must learn to make skillful use of the four basic factors in planning: control figures, state orders, economic normatives, and ceilings. Control figures reflect the wish of the state which has interpreted society's needs in the form of a balanced plan. An enterprise may join in this wish, or

it may not if there is no advantage for it. State orders are applied in order to control the situation. It has been decided to sharply boost the economic aspect of state orders, thus ensuring that work on a task assigned by the state is more profitable than work on any other task. Basic guidelines are being prepared for placing state orders on a competitive basis, and it is planned to sharply reduce the products range and volume of state orders, reducing them to 20-30 percent in many sectors.

[Leontyeva] So why is it that mandatory state orders covering 100 percent of output have been issued to raw material sectors? State orders are advantageous to economic leaders but are not advantageous to the state—is this not what we are taught by past experience? And so we end up receiving raw materials in quantities that many people could not even dream of. The chain stretches throughout the sector and produces all-embracing dependence which cannot be overcome in any way.

[Shcherbakov] There is no other way out in today's actual conditions. We must make resource growth mandatory. People applying the second model, lease contractors, and cooperative members are hindered by shortages more than by anything else.

[Leontyeva] Let us take a specific example. In reality we have a surplus of metal—nobody produces as much as we do. If there were to be a free trade in metal, would people not start taking less metal and producing fewer older-generation machines that nobody wants? After all, it was said a long time ago even at the top party level: Wholesale trade is the means for overcoming shortages.

[Shcherbakov] We must introduce the economic mechanism systematically and consistently. For the time being it is necessary to retain the centralized distribution of resources along the key avenues. Yes, we do have a lot of metal but it is often not the metal we need, and at times it does not end up with those who need it most.

[Leontyeva] And yet state orders have not and obviously will not give us the metal we need?

[Shcherbakov] In order to ensure that enterprises can transfer to real economic accountability and independence, that they opt for remainder-based economic accountability, introduce leasing on a broad basis, and develop cooperatives, we must make resource supplies more reliable. Hitherto nobody has discovered another method for guaranteeing these supplies on the state's behalf. Gradually—as a reliable system of direct ties is created and wholesale trade develops—the level of state orders will also decline in the raw materials sectors.

To continue. Economic normatives are the most complex link in the management of the economic mechanism. The commission is working on a fundamentally new approach to their determination. Today they are based on group features. It is proposed to switch to the establishment of uniform normatives for the national economic complex. To move further away from individualization. Of course, the uniform normatives system cannot be absolutely fair either, and therefore it is mandatory to supplement it with an extensive system of concessions as regards payments to the budget and superior organs.

Everyone is also worried about the future system of securing limits on material and technical resources. Let me reply: Their centralized distribution ought to diminish and the proportion of direct ties and wholesale trade ought to swiftly increase.

But this is not all. The question will not be exhausted by deciding the nature of all these basic factors in planning. There are numerous others as well. To what extent, for example, is it possible to radically enhance an enterprise's direct material interest in improving its work? We are primarily talking about methods for forming the labor remuneration fund. Today it is largely based on normative net output. I note with satisfaction: The conclusion has finally been reached that it must be abandoned. Now we are talking about indicators of net output and gross income. But we have missed the opportune moment when a broad experiment should have been conducted and methodology developed.

Finally, about the indirect interest in building up economic incentive funds. This question is directly linked with prices. The press today is debating mainly the problem of retail prices, but wholesale prices are equally important. After all, they are the ones that determine profits and hence have a direct effect on wages, on social development funds, and on our future life. For example, prices are now to be reviewed. The cost of construction materials will increase approximately 30 percent. Unless an enterprise improves its work, next year it will be able to build only one or two homes instead of three, using the same amount of money.

[Leontyeva] In my view, there is a substitution of terms here— improvement of price formation and transfer to free prices. But at departmental level there is more and more talk about price review. So let us call things by their proper names, without hiding anything. But where will we end up? Let us assume that prices in the extracting sectors increase—they are running at a loss. And that prices in machine building fall. A leveling of prices, as it were. Around 3 years later we will end up with exactly the same stratification of prices, because coal will remain coal costing exactly the same amount even 3 years later, while new and more expensive machines will appear. Another price review?

[Shcherbakov] Let us try to look into it. Today we are indeed talking about reorganizing the price formation system. First, the basis of price formation is changing fundamentally. Prices must become cost-cutting. Second, there are fundamental changes in the procedure for

price approval and the extent of enterprises' independence in price formation. But we are again coming up against the degree of the economic mechanism's development. When the economy is totally warped by the monopoly position of many enterprises, abandoning the approval of base prices means dooming everybody to uncertainty.

The reform of price formation also implies a review of prices themselves. Prices must be made more realistic and must be aimed at solving the strategic tasks of the economy's development. As regards increasing retail prices, this is advocated by, for example, Academicians A. Aganbegyan, T. Zaslavskaya, and S. Shatalin; V. Pavlov, chairman of the State Committee for Prices; and his deputy A. Komin. They are major experts in their sphere. A dozen people with hardly any knowledge of this issue cannot replace one expert.

[Leontyeva] The problem of price formation is most closely linked with enterprises' financial position and their financial freedom. What measures are being prepared in this sphere?

[Shcherbakov] Preparations are now under way to test a new taxation system, similar in principle to the cooperative taxation system. The principles will be uniform, the approach will be uniform, but the amounts will of course be different. If we were to introduce a taxation system instead of a ramified payments system it might be possible to cancel charges for resources, abolish the indicator of productivity-pay correlation, and abolish the charges for labor resources. Most importantly, it might be possible to sharply expand enterprises' independence by doing away with all limits on the distribution of earnings and economically accountable revenue and with ceilings on the bonuses payable to leadership and engineering and technical personnel. We could manage perfectly well without all this by introducing a tax on wages fund growth.

[Leontyeva] What are the prospects for the development of the basic production link? Should its forms and size emerge spontaneously, in the course of the socialist market's development? Or do we need special organizational measures here?

[Shcherbakov] The government approved new general management schemes for all of the national economy's production sectors. As a result of this, the number of management targets in various sectors has declined by a factor of two, and even by a factor of eight in places. There has been a sharp enlargement of the basic link. A large number of production associations and of science and production associations have been established. I think that we have solved some of the problems here but have created even more new ones. Many cases produced only a mechanical amalgamation of enterprises having nothing but sectoral affiliation or territorial proximity in common. The most typical example is that of state production associations. Many party and economic organs literally forced partners to join them.

Parochial and departmental approaches still leave their mark on the formation of the basic link. You can count on your fingers the number of enterprises transferred from one sector to another or from union to republic or local jurisdiction, even though there is a need to do this.

Now it is necessary to fundamentally tackle the creation of major production-economic complexes operating like holding companies. It is necessary to unite within a single system the scientific research institutes, design bureaus, planning and technological organizations, workers directly engaged in production, construction industry workers, and the own-brand service network. A major complex would provide a basis for radical reorganization and debureaucratization of the national economy's management, do away with the intermediate link, and create realistic conditions for transfer to a two-tier system.

[Leontyeva] We have already heard on numerous occasions the expression "We will overextend the economy." In other words, it is claimed that the economy would be overextended if there were an immediate abandonment of administrative levers for influencing the basic link. Are you in favor of the slow implantation of economic methods in the administrative system?

[Shcherbakov] A switch from driving on the right-hand side to driving on the left-hand side cannot be done slowly. The same applies to the economy. Transfer to economic methods cannot be done slowly or swiftly. It is a question of whether to switch or not. But it would be naive to imagine that tomorrow we will be in a position to manage only by economic methods.

[Leontyeva] Vladimir Ivanovich, on the one hand you are advocating the Monday principle, while on the other hand you are talking about a gradual easing of administrative constraints. So, do we believe in the reform or not?

[Shcherbakov] Of course we do. But it is necessary to avoid prodding from the right and from the left alike.

[Leontyeva] What should a territory's economic life be like under these conditions?

[Shcherbakov] First and foremost it is necessary to restructure the soviets. Hitherto they have been excluded from actual economic relations and have functioned as a transmission link.

There must a sharp change in the situation, otherwise the reform will slide backward, namely a switch to territorial self-financing and self-sufficiency. So far nobody is in a position to explain the meaning of this in detail. True enough, a number of experiments are being prepared.

The Baltic republics, Belorussia, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and the Tatar ASSR have expressed a desire to be the first to start this work—to switch to self-financing. Their initiative has found support.

[Leontyeva] I would like to clarify your stance regarding enterprises' subordination to soviets—a viewpoint held by a number of leading economists. It is suggested that enterprises should be divided into categories of oblast, republic, and union subordination. Ministries will then willy-nilly lose their past functions and will become organs of scientific and technical progress.

[Shcherbakov] This could be done, but what happens later on? Later on, the framework of soviets' administrative influence will be expanded. Consequently, how do we avoid switching from active departmentalism to active parochialism. That is the same as departmentalism, only worse. Now everything is regulated at national-economy level, but then it will be regulated at oblast level.

Overall I have mentioned many problems, and much has to be worked out as we go along. Moreover, measures for deepening the economic reform will certainly be most closely linked with transformation of the political system and further democratization of our society's life.

Criticism of Trade Union Effectiveness Answered

PM1409105388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Sep 88 First Edition p 2

[Response by AUCCTU Deputy Chairman V. Lomonosov to earlier item under the rubric "PRAVDA Wrote. What Has Been Done?": "'Whose Interests Does the Trade Union Defend?' (1 June)"]

[Text] The article with this title raised important problems of improving the trade unions' activity under conditions of restructuring and the further democratization of Soviet society. Indeed, trade union organs make far from full use of their potential for effectively defending working people's legitimate rights and interests. They have little influence on the elaboration of economic and social normatives, have been unable to raise their voice against excessive state orders and the mass downgrading of workers, and do not everywhere strive to make real progress in improving labor organization and working conditions in production or to ease women's work.

The shortcomings rightly pointed out in the article "Whose Interests Does the Trade Union Defend?" and in other PRAVDA articles ("The Strength of the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant" of 3 June, "Not a Woman's Burden" of 11 June, "Legality 'Our Way'" of 27 July, and "What Agitprop Dreams Of" of 14 August) have been examined carefully at sessions of the AUCCTU Presidium and Secretariat. Criticisms leveled against trade union organs by working people during the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference were also analyzed carefully. In the course of the preparations for the latest AUCCTU plenum a review of the most sharply worded letters received by PRAVDA, the editorial offices of other central newspapers, and trade union organs was drawn up for its participants.

All this made it possible to hold the Third AUCCTU Plenum 5-6 August in a spirit of self-criticism, with broad reliance on public opinion, and with high activeness (40 people spoke). It discussed the trade unions' urgent tasks stemming from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions. The plenum made a constructive examination of the most important aspects of the Soviet trade unions' activity at the present stage of restructuring. Specific measures were outlined to raise the trade unions' entire social, production-economic, and legal-defense work to the level of modern requirements. The trade unions' tasks in implementing the political reform and their role and place in the democratization of Soviet society were clearly defined. A detailed program for the democratization of trade union internal life was adopted.

In recent months the AUCCTU has put a number of enterprising proposals to the government: on increasing to 78-89 percent the proportion of the national income channeled into consumption, with a simultaneous increase in spending on sociocultural building; on accelerating industry's shift toward satisfying the public demand for goods and services; on developing the group "B" sectors; and on other aspects of social policy and the legal defense of working people. The task now is to set to work without delay and without beating about the bush, to start implementing all that is planned, and to strive for real changes and tangible results on the basis of multifaceted organizational work in all trade union links.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that PRAVDA's attention will help the trade unions to defend the working people's interests still more effectively and to become a really strong and authoritative social partner of the state.

FRG Sovietologist Assesses Restructuring

PM1309113888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Sep 88 Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Interview with West German sovietologist Professor Wolfgang Leonhard by own correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "Fewer and Fewer Skeptics, More and More Optimists"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] When he embarked on his monumental account of his experience of life, Montaigne intended it for a narrow circle, but it is in constant demand to this day. As a rule people writing about other people's experience intend their work for a wide public, but their books are often 9-day wonders. That is the fate of many Western publications about the Soviet Union, generated by the desire for "sensational revelations." Serious sovietology,

whose representatives study our history and public life carefully and profoundly, is another matter. Their analysis and conclusions, though drawn from different ideological standpoints, remain relevant for many years and are of wide interest, for us too. I talked with a leading member of this profession—Wolfgang Leonhard.

Professor W. Leonhard is a scholar with an international reputation, one of the founders of modern sovietology, and a man with a complex and contradictory career. In 1935 he came to the USSR with his mother and studied at the Institute of Foreign Languages, and later at the Comintern school. From 1943 through 1945 he worked on the "Free Germany" National Committee, and later he lived and worked in the GDR. In 1949 he emigrated to Yugoslavia—as a sign of disagreement with Stalin's policy; later he moved to the FRG and studied history and philosophy. For many years he has been lecturing on the history of the USSR. In 1955 he wrote the book "The Revolution Rejects Its Children"—about his break with Stalin. How did this happen? In a recent publication W. Leonhard writes: "I lived through terrible events in the Soviet Union under Stalin: mass repressions against devoted Communists, the arrest of my mother and teachers from the Karl Liebknecht German school, exile to Kazakhstan for combating Nazism in Germany." What are W. Leonhard's views today? To what category of sovietologists does he consider he belongs? These were the questions that began our talk.

[Leonhard] I must say that the term "sovietologist" is not used uniformly in the West. The authors of individual books and articles who have extremely superficial ideas about the USSR are often called sovietologists. Real sovietologists are scholars. You are unlikely to find a book by a serious sovietologist containing humiliating assessments of Soviet people or insulting attacks on Soviet state and party leaders.

Naturally, there are various opinions and assessments of Soviet reality. Representatives of the conservative trend, for instance, called Stalinism a "crude, cruel continuation of Leninism." Others, among them Stephen Cohen and I, have always drawn a clear line between the revolutionary Leninist period and the dictatorial autocracy of Stalin. There were also different assessments of the period of de-Stalinization under Khrushchev. Skeptics saw it as a cunning political maneuver. The majority welcomed de-Stalinization, although it was rather utopian at that time. The Brezhnev period gave rise to many debates. Some people called it a period of "comparative normalization," others, including me, spoke of a period of authoritarian bureaucracy.

But perhaps the most significant differences are those in the assessments of glasnost and restructuring in the last 3 years. The skeptics, mainly conservatives, suggest that the Soviet system is ossified and there can be no reform. But I constantly emphasize that reforms are not only necessary, but possible. Skeptics cite the lack of democratic traditions. I am convinced that Soviet people are capable of developing the necessary initiatives and finding their feet in a reformed society. Although it will obviously be rather difficult for some people.

[Bovkun] What changes in public life in the Soviet Union look most significant to you?

[Leonhard] The development of glasnost. It is the first time in the entire history of the USSR that difficult problems and shortcomings have been discussed so clearly and frankly. Criticism is combined with constructive proposals. I am deeply impressed by the degree of glasnost with which the past is discussed. I am sure that a critical analysis of the past is necessary for the successful resolution of present and future problems.

Now about restructuring itself. I understand it as the implementation of four major reforms simultaneously.

The first, which is most argued about in the West, is of course the economic reform, with the decentralization of management, the shifting of initiative to the base, and the change in the Gosplan's role, changing it from an institution that issues instructions into a scientific body. Economic reform is clearly the nucleus of the entire restructuring, although many people in the West in fact regard the two concepts as identical.

The second and third areas of transformations cover the sphere of politics and justice.

The fourth concerns the sphere of the nationalities policy.

[Bovkun] Are you not restricting the meaning of restructuring by confining it to four areas? Where, in that case, would you put the educational reform, for instance?

[Leonhard] I only regard the aforementioned areas as the main ones. Naturally, every individual reform has its own particular significance. It is important, for instance, that the role of women is being reassessed. I find all these changes very gratifying. But unfortunately a great gulf still exists between the statements of leaders and scientists and the reality. I attribute this to difficulties and resistance to restructuring.

[Bovkun] How does the West regard restructuring in the USSR? Who does not wish it success, and for what reasons?

[Leonhard] Naturally, opinions immediately divided. Some conservatives saw restructuring as a diversionary maneuver, a tactical trick designed to mislead us. Now some claim that restructuring is only a breathing space, after which the Soviet Union will return to the policy of strength with regard to the West.

But despite all this, I believe that the majority of people in the center of the political spectrum and to the left of it in the FRG and other West European countries sincerely wish restructuring success and are concerned about the activity of its internal opponents.

[Bovkun] Interest in Soviet foreign policy in the West has increased markedly. What aspects of it are the sovietologists most interested in?

[Leonhard] I personally carefully note all elements of the new thinking. In my view the thesis on joint security as a prerequisite for improving national relaitons is very important. Or the thesis that common human problems often rise above the problems of the class struggle, that the socialist and capitalist camps should resolve a whole series of common tasks: such tasks as disarmament, dialogue with the Third World, environmental conservation, combating terrorism. And finally, for the Western public tremendous significance is attached to the thesis that internatioanl development will be decided not through the struggle of the two systems, but through their competition and cooperation.

In general the attitude to the USSR's current foreign policy is positive. There was a great response, in particular, to the idea of the common European home, although it would be desirable for the Soviet Union to express its idea on this score rather more concretely. I am among those sovietologists who associate the new emphases in the USSR's foreign policy with its domestic policy. If restructuring founders and its opponents triumph, we will soon need the "enemy image" again. In this respect the article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was for me a warning shot and an attempt to rally those who have taken the path of rejecting the new and whipping up fear. But there is no alternative to restructuring, I am very pleased to say. I hope that such sentiments will gradually die away with the development of glasnost.

Everyone who wants peace and disarmament should have an interest in the success of restructuring. Its success is a long-term guarantee of the improvement of East-West relations.

[Bovkun] How do you assess the immediate prospects for Soviet society's development?

[Leonhard] They are associated first and foremost with the implementation of the all-union party conference decisions. The decision that the party should continue to determine the most important issues of policy, but not interfere in the current practical tasks of management of the state and the economy, seems important to me. I hope this principle will not remain only on paper. It is also gratifying to observe the growth of the soviets' authority.

The resolution on legal reform provides, as you know, for an increase in the authority of the courts and the legal profession. Obviously the question of constitutional monitoring of government activity will also be resolved. We can now hope that in the future the famous "rubber paragraphs"—70 and 190—which were often used in the past for unjustified arrests will also disappear.

In the sphere of nationalities policy substantial changes are also taking place: Greater autonomy is envisaged for the union and autonomous republics and oblasts. But here the question arises: Will it not be necessary in future to make appropriate amendments to the existing constitution so as to be able more effectively to resolve the undoubtedly difficult national problems?

The decisions of the recent conference considerably alleviate the implementation of the next reforms, but the forces of opposition must still not be underestimated. Until the reform process is entirely completed, no guarantee of its irreversibility can be given.

World War Veteran Views 'People's Diplomacy'

LD1009090488 Moscow TASS in English 0644 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov.

Veterans of the Second World War who know from their own bitter experience and not from stories what fascism was, are active participants in international public life which is now called "people's diplomacy". "Our primary task is to campaign for peace and to educate young people on a world-wide scale so that they could be better than the generations which fought the war," said retired Major General Ivan Skripka, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, in an interview with TASS. "This is struggle against Nazism, neo-Nazism and revanchism which threatens security up to this day."

"We also make our modest contribution to such noble activities as exposure of war criminals. Our comrades testify as witnesses at trials of such cases at home and abroad. We know too well how dreadful Nazism is and shall do our utmost, in future too, to prevent it from threatening mankind again," said the veteran.

The Second World War made an indelible imprint on the memory of mankind. The flames of war seared whole continents, and dozens of countries were drawn into the war. Several dozen million people died in battles against fascism and in Nazi "death camps". The war claimed even greater sacrifices from innocent population. Grateful mankind paying homage to the feat of war heroes, annually marks the international day of commemoration of Nazi victims on the second Sunday of Septemebr.

This day is not only a day commemorating millions of people. This is a reminder that war horrors must never be repeated again.

The memory about Nazi victims demands both uncompromising struggle against attempts to review history and to whitewash the "brown-shirt" ideology and its backers. Care for a peaceful future rather than a feeling of revenge dictates the need for punishing Nazi war criminals wherever they hide from strict justice.

1939 Signing of Pact With Germany Defended

PM1409152188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by Yu. Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Continuing the Discussion": "Back Then, in '39..."]

[Text] Forty-nine years ago, in the first weeks of September 1939, the pitiless juggernaut of war was already rumbling along the highways of Europe. This date is not a round number, but nevertheless our thoughts turn to it with a heightened sensitivity. And it is no chance event that many items published in newspapers and magazines in August and September are dedicated to it. Time and again we recall 1939 in our keen debates and agonizing reflections.

The year 1939 was unique. Not only because it marked the beginning of the biggest and bloodiest war in history. It was also unique because of the strikingly complex and contradictory interweaving of international political trends and currents, the unexpected and improbable decisions, and the bewildering abruptness of the turn of events.

For that reason historians have still not fully explored those labyrinths, and so much remains disputed and unclear to this day. It is a pity that the majority of historians have been marking time for almost half a century, thoughtlessly and from inertia, repeating old and utterly threadbare postulates or expressing insubstantial views based on quotations out of context and dubious evidence.

When evaluating the historical process we want to look at the old in a new way. We are required in doing this to consider the past both from the standpoint of our present knowledge and in the light of the conditions, circumstances, and possibilities of times gone by, and we must try to understand the psychology of the people of those years. A recent article in PRAVDA was among the few well-founded and cogent materials on the beginning of World War II published recently.

So, what is the essence of the events of August-September 1939? The USSR has been accused and is being accused with renewed zeal now of freeing Hitler's hands. But an analysis of the events does not bear that out. Hitler's hands had been freed by the Western powers—they did not stir during the anschluss of Austria and Germany in spring 1938, and they gave Czechoslovakia to Hitler to dismember in the course of the Munich pact. By seizing all of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 Hitler took the path of war. He believed that his hands had been freed. But they could still have been tied had Britain, France, and the USSR joined forces. Who wrecked that opportunity? That is the big question. The Western democracies played a double game. They were trying to "flirt with the USSR," as French diplomats said, so as to negotiate with Hitler on more favorable terms. They miscalculated but tried to pin the blame for that miscalculation on the USSR, as they still do.

Yes, the Western powers wanted to bring us into conflict with Hitler while remaining on the sidelines themselves. As it turned out, they clashed with Hitler and we remained on the sidelines for almost 2 years. They wanted Hitler to open an eastern front only. But the first front that he opened was in the west.

August 23, 1939 [signing of Soviet-German nonaggression pact] alienated Western democracy from us. But eventually, after 22 June 1941, they approached us again and our alliance with them became possible. But for 23 August, as they say in the East, the Western democracies would have stayed at the top of the mountain watching the tigers fighting in the valley below. They had to come down from the mountain and take part, with extreme reluctance, in the skirmish themselves. They wanted to outwit us by dreaming up the "phony war" in fall 1939, and by their passivity seemed to hint to Hitler again that they would not prevent him turning the Wehrmacht's divisions against the USSR. The "phony war" led to Dunkirk, the fall of Paris, and the ruins of Coventry.

Nor did everything turn out for us as we would have liked. We did not let ourselves be deceived in 1939, but we were deceived in expecting a longer breathing space. Hitler achieved victory in the West too easily. This resulted in huge difficulties for the USSR in 1941. But in 1939 or 1940 those difficulties would have been far greater. Perhaps fatal.

When discussing the European situation we sometimes forget Asia. But the Soviet Union had to think not only about the West but the East, too. On 11 May 1939 the threat from the East assumed real features. There was more than just a whiff of gunpowder there—the roar of the guns on the Halhaiin Gol lasted the whole summer. How could one fail to notice that it was during the third week of August that the fighting reached its peak. According to our figures the Japanese troops lost 25,000 dead. The Japanese leadership at that time not only thought aggressively, it acted aggressively, too.

The Mongolian steppes are thousands of kilometers from Europe. But in August Mongolia was closer than it had ever been and the roar of battle at Halhaiin Gol reached Moscow quite distinctly. Perhaps those sounds were sweet music to the leaders of Germany, Britain, and France. But to us they were anything but music. To us they were an alarm bell.

When discussing the military and foreign policy aspects of the agreements with fascist Germany we perhaps underestimate the psychological aspect. K. Simonov was absolutely right on this when he said: "...For almost 2 years...we lost psychologically part of that unusually important sense of self which constituted and still constitutes our precious characteristic and is linked with such concepts as 'the first country of socialism'.... In other words, something very grave in the moral sense happened."

Yes, Simonov is right. The conclusion of the pact with Germany gave rise to questions and doubts in Soviet people and was painful and bitter to the people's soul. "It is remarkable that the western Ukraine and western Belorussia were liberated.... But if only we had achieved that without the pact with Germany.... What a heavy mark this left on the soul.... If only we had achieved that some other way...." That was the way he thought, as a Komsomol member in the 10th grade at that time. It is likely that many thought like that. But Stalin ignored the people's opinion.

What scales can weigh all the pluses and minuses of the Soviet-German agreement of August and September 1939? What computer can calculate the options then? The Soviet-German pact of 1939 was a compromise. Any compromise is hard to achieve but easy to criticize—and from both sides.

Historical events can be understood only in conjunction with others and in chronological order. The year 1939 can only be understood in the context of the whole history of World War II. Not because they do not judge the winners. And not because the ends justify the means—that widespread idea is immoral. But because—and this must not be forgotten—it was a question of the life or death of our state. August 23 left one-half of the world in a state of shock. But the shock passes and the final victory remains. One can understand those who in 1939 did not understand or accept the Soviet-German pact. One can understand those who were indignant or who wept then. It is harder to understand those who express indignation today. There is no denying that the agreement with Hitler was not the straight road to victory. Nevertheless, it was through 1939 that we came to 1945. And no one has yet demonstrated that any other path would have made it possible to avoid the war or would have ended in the victorious spring of 1945.

Details on Publication of Children's Books

LD1009210888 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The print run of books for children in the Soviet Union is to amount to almost 1,000 million copies (990-995 million) in 1995. This will be 10-12 books per family, announced Dmitriy Mamleyev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade. Today he took part in a regular television program from the cycle "Perestroyka and Culture" which dealt with problems of literature for children.

Having said about a chronic deficit of books for children (only 40 per cent of the demand for such books is met so far), Dmitriy Mamleyev said: "This is why the committee has worked out a seven-year program for an accelerated publication of literature for children and adolescents. Its principal aim is to meet the requirements of young readers who will have at their disposal practically all the best works which are understandable to them and which have been written in the country and abroad."

The participants in the TV program—book publishers and writers—pointed out that the book-publishing program includes more than two hundred works by Russian, Soviet and foreign classics, contemporary fiction, historico-revolutionary and popular science books, and fairy tales of the peoples of the world.

All books on the program will be published in a colossal print run—200,000-700,000 copies. Twenty books of the so-called "Golden Fund" will be published in a super-large print run ranging from 1.5 million to 3 million copies.

Every child will be able to have "Children's Encyclopaedia", books about computers, radio electronics, the nature and animals, traffic regulations, and many other cognitive books.

The participants in the TV program voiced confidence in the practicability of such a large-scale program: 66 publishing houses of the country, irrespective of thematic specialisation and departmental subordination, have actively jointed in implementing it.

Economic

Figures for Nonoperational Cooperatives Cited

PM1309094188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Borisov: "So Far R3 Per Capita"—first paragraph and table are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The RSFSR State Committee for Statistics has reported that over one-third of the 26,200 cooperatives registered on the territory of the RSFSR have so far been unable to begin to operate.

	Number of Cooperatives, Thousands	Registered
All Operating Cooperatives, including:	26.2	16.3
For the production of consumer goods	5.9	3.4

	Number of Cooperatives, Thousands	Registered
All Operating Cooperatives, including:	26.2	16.3
Public catering	3.7	2.4
Trade	0.3	0.2
Trade and purchase	1.1	0.7
Consumer services for the population	10.2	6.7
Procurement and processing of secondary raw material	0.9	0.7
Other types of cooperatives	4.1	2.2

Unfortunately, the Republican Committee for Statistics does not explain the reasons delaying the cooperative workers' activeness. But insofar as we are familiar with this problem, most often the cooperatives' desire for vigorous economic activity is encountering obstacles such as, for instance, the lack of production premises and the shortage of equipment and raw material. I think that, in embarking on the path of independent economic management, not all cooperative members have foreseen the problems which they will have to encounter and overcome without outside assistance.

It seems to us that this situation is favorable for beginning to provide more purposeful stimulus to the development of those cooperatives engaged in the production of consumer goods, the rendering of services, and food production. That is what society is primarily interested in.

According to the figures of the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics, in the first half of the year the volume of output produced by the cooperatives and of services rendered by them totaled R528 million. This is an average of R3.35 per inhabitant of Russia. Of the total volume of services 42 percent are the repair and construction of apartments and houses on orders from the population and 12 percent the individual sewing of shoes, clothing, fur articles, and hats.

The types of activity of the cooperatives have begun to expand gradually. Over 400 sports therapy and medical cooperatives, 700 cooperatives for the production of agricultural produce and the fattening of livestock and poultry, and 159 art and decoration cooperatives have been registered.

'Impressions' of Government Session on Plan

PM1509081988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Yu. Rytov article: "1989: Hopes and Difficulties. Notes From a USSR Council of Ministers Session"—first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] The press has already published an official account of the USSR Council of Ministers session which examined the draft State Plan for the Country's Economic and Social Development and the draft State Budget for 1989. We would like to supplement that account with the impressions of our correspondent who was present at the session.

Saturday, 10 September. The Oval Hall of the Government House in the Kremlin. The session was due to begin at 1000 hours, but all seats in the hall were already occupied some 30 minutes beforehand. Ministers entered the hall in different moods. The point was that for almost an entire week the Council of Ministers Presidium had been examining draft plans submitted by republics and sectors. Consequently, leaders whose proposals had been basically approved took their seats with a smile on their faces, joking with their neighbors. But those whose drafts had been returned for additional work were by no means in a jocular mood.

Opening the session, N.I. Ryzhkov warned:

"We will definitely be hearing from the chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers. We are talking about an utter failure in plan elaboration which is totally unacceptable. We will also invite some ministers to the rostrum—there are questions to be asked of them. I would ask all others who wish to speak in the debate to put down their names...."

We have gotten used to ministers being criticized "from below," as the saying goes. But this time there was also criticism "from the side" and "from above" as well. Never before have I heard a sharper, franker, or more principled discussion of the state of affairs in the country. But this was perfectly natural because, as participants in the session emphasized, 1989 will be a special year for us....

What are its special features?

First. The draft plan was elaborated following the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which took a fresh look at many important questions of our social development. So who else but the government should take into account these new demands, bear the full brunt of the criticism leveled against it, and display a new approach to the tasks set by the party?

The draft 1989 plan envisages a sharp change of direction in the social sphere. The growth of groups "A" and "B" looks like this now: 2.5 and 6.7 percent respectively. This means that henceforth the production of consumer goods will grow 2.5 times faster than the production of the means of production!

In order to appraise the strength of a strong social policy, new methods were applied to calculate the structure of national income distribution. It was reported at the session that, taking into account capital investments in the social sphere, the proportion of national income used for consumption will reach 81.1 percent. Armed with a

new methodology for making calculations, we have finally acquired a scientific base for comparing many of our economic indicators with those of other countries....

The second of next year's special features: The country's entire national economy will transfer completely to new conditions of work. The experience we have accumulated enables us to assert with total confidence that collectives operating under conditions of self-financing achieve much better results than the rest.

Nonetheless, the new economic practice has also brought to light many of its shortcomings and new problems which have to be resolved in the course of economic reform.

What are the problems here? This is how the Council of Ministers session formulated the main one: horizontal ties. Enterprises have been given full rights, but how do they exercise them? Suppliers have started presenting the most incredible ultimatums to their clients: I will supply you with railroad ties provided you build us a culture center....

USSR Minister of Railways N. Konarev cited facts in his speech. All enterprises producing output for the Ministry of Railways—diesel and electric locomotives or freight and passenger cars—have agreed to accept orders for considerably smaller quantities than last year. And he gave specific examples.

N.I. Ryzhkov asked:

"How is an enterprise supposed to remain in existence if it is cutting back its output?"

"It is all very simple," the minister explained. "They intend to remain in existence by raising their prices...."

V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, immediately rose from his seat.

"That cannot happen!", he declared.

The USSR minister of railways, still at the rostrum, took some papers out of his folder and passed them to the chairman.

N.I. Ryzhkov read a few figures. They showed that the cost of cars, for example, had... quadrupled in the last 15 years.

Pavlov kept silent....

The third special feature: The fate of not only the 5-year plan but of the economic reform as a whole will depend on the way the 1989 program is formulated and the way it is fulfilled.

Addressing the ministers, N.I. Ryzhkov declared:

"So, esteemed Comrades, what will we tell the 28th party congress? We have not quite made it; give us a little more time? Nobody is going to give us any more time."

Dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs was clearly felt at this session.

"Even the relatively high growth rate entered in the draft plan for consumer goods production," the chairman said, "cannot satisfy us. It is more than just a matter of putting down high percentages in the plan! As a matter of fact, this is what was done in the past. They used to say: This is the percentage we need; and that was the percentage they put down. Can we do the same again? Under no circumstances. If there is no certainty that the target will be successfully met, we'd better not make any statements...."

The government's realistic approach to the prevailing economic situation was also demonstrated in particular by the following fact. Following applications by several republics and cities, the hospital construction plan was revised downward. Why? It was clearly obvious that such plans could not have been fulfilled.... Yes, the plans were revised and the government consented, but subject to one condition: Make up for it before the end of the 5-year plan period....

Participants in the session gave special attention to the state of our financial affairs.

USSR Minister of Finance B. Gostev reported that next year's state budget deficit will run to tens of billions of rubles. Financial organs, he went on to say, have found a way—through credit facilities and deposits by the population—to somewhat reduce the deficit. But, in B. Gostev's opinion, there is not much that can be achieved here. For the first time, these disturbing figures will be submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Participants in the session spoke much about glasnost and the role of the press and all mass media. They mentioned material carried by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, the "Spotlight on Restructuring" program, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI....

N.I. Ryzhkov said in particular:

"I saw in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI a photograph showing a line at a wine counter.... It was frightening and painful to see it.... What is this: Is our government fighting against its own people? No! I must report that this question was examined a few days ago. Note was taken of the full importance of resolutions adopted in 1985. There is no doubt that they have played a positive role. What I would call production drunkenness has been stopped. At the same time, however, instead of conducting educational work among people, we got carried away by administrative zeal. Cities and rayons started competing over which would be the first to close down wine sales outlets.... So-called 'sobriety zones' appeared. So

there will be rigorous observance of the pace envisaged by the resolutions for cutting back the production and sale of vodka and fortified wines.... As regards cognac, dry wines, and beer, they will be on sale in food stores. Let the minister of trade file his requirements and the agro-industrial complex will have to meet them...."

Assessing the work done on compiling the draft plan for 1989, N.I. Ryzhkov emphasized that much has been successfully achieved. But these are very modest steps compared with what the party and the whole Soviet people expect from the government.

Military

Tank Troops Chief on Problems, Goals

PM1409095388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1-2

[Interview with Lieutenant General A. Galkin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Armored Directorate, by Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev: "Tank Troops: Their History and Prospects"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pashayev] Comrade Lieutenant General, interest in our history, including military history, is perhaps greater now than it has ever been. So it is no wonder that, on the eve of Tank Troops Day, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers' letters contain quite a few questions on the history of the tank troops. What can you tell us about this, considering the past and looking to the future of this category of troops, which we rightly call the country's armored shield?

[Galkin] Let us think back to the situation which took shape in the country in the late twenties and early thirties. A difficult and anxious time. But the industrialization which had begun was already making it possible to begin creating a defense industry and to develop a whole series of new sectors within it, tank building in particular. The army was reinforced with technically skilled cadres. [passage omitted]

The consequences of the personality cult had the gravest effect on implementing the achievements of the country's military thinking. The authors of new views were soon declared "enemies of the people" and annihilated and their works were banned. Consequently, under the influence of erroneous conclusions drawn from the limited experience of the use of tanks during the Spanish Civil War, the Red Army's Main Military Council chaired by Stalin adopted the 21 November 1939 decision to disband the tank corps.

But of course this ultimately tragic decision was not on the conscience of Stalin alone. K. Voroshilov, people's commissar of defense at that time, was also a stubborn and consistent opponent of the development and improvement of powerful tank forces. It was he who stated at the 17th All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress: "It is necessary... once and for all to end the disastrous 'theories' about replacing horses with machines, about the 'disappearance' of the horse." Until the war itself Voroshilov was firmly convinced that "the Red cavalry is still a victorious and devastating armed force which can resolve tasks on all combat fronts." All these delusions, which were contrary to the times and to elementary logic, had to be rectified afterward at a high cost, as everyone knows....

[Pashayev] The materials of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference formulated the task of trying to increase the country's defense capability primarily in terms of qualitative parameters. In what areas is this party guideline now being implemented with regard to tank troops today?

[Galkin] Let me begin by saying that the military-technical aspect of Soviet military doctrine quite clearly defines the necessary qualitative and quantitative parameters of armament and equipment as well as the level of training and preparation of personnel—they must ensure the reliable defense of the socialist fatherland. This also applies fully, of course, to tank troops.

It should be noted that in recent years work connected with the modernization of old types of armored hardware and the creation of new combat machines has continued unabated in our army just as in the armies of other countries, particularly the Western countries. Soviet designers have worked strenuously to improve their protective armor and collective systems of protection against mass destruction weapons, to increase their roadability, and so forth. Work has been done to ensure the work of crews in different climatic, geographical, and meteorological conditions and during firing from stationary positions and on the move. Nor do we lag behind world tank building in terms of the firepower of armored hardware. It is being increased by the use of modern means of automated target designation and destruction, the use of laser range finders, electronic ballistic computers, and other modern technical resources.

Questions of increasing tank mobility by improving power units and creating our own multifuel diesel engines are being resolved. The priorities here are capacity, economy, and increased range and service life. The high reliability of our combat hardware under all operating conditions, of course, is still the requirement that has traditionally been the guideline for Soviet engineers and designers.

All that I have been talking about is not, of course, a goal in itself. These are enforced measures which, as is well known, divert considerable resources from our economy and from the solution of urgent social problems. But at the moment there is no alternative.

[Pashayev] Yes, the modern tank and, in particular, the tank of the future cannot be compared with the combat vehicles which we had, for example, at the end of the Great Patriotic War. But they are harder to learn to

operate, of course. Is it not the case that the level of hardware development is somewhat ahead of the level of training of those who operate it?

[Galkin] A difficult question. The level of technical preparation and, of course, other preparation of the officers, warrant officers, NCO's, and enlisted men who operate combat hardware is a factor which greatly determines its combat readiness and capability. In 10 years equipment may change considerably, whereas the system of training people to operate it to a high standard does not undergo revolutionary change, as is well known. Here, too, of course, we are trying to do things. Specifically in the sphere of introducing into personnel training the new method of instruction using so-called training charts and the creation of modern simulator complexes, which help to develop and reinforce the necessary skills in tankmen. I think it appropriate to point out here that in terms of design and technical characteristics, the new generations of simulators are essentially comparable to the given types of combat hardware. The paramount task now is to ensure that training and combat units are provided with the full requirements for them as quickly as possible.

Among the priority areas of restructuring I would cite one more factor. Namely, the optimization of our work and service system and the resolute rejection of elements of formalism and bureaucracy. This is serious and difficult work. To all intents and purposes we are only just beginning.

[Pashayev] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, today we usually talk about the enhanced role of the human factor. It is clear that among the specialists of the Main Armored Directorate, officers among the troops, engineering and technical personnel, and workers in industrial enterprises there are many enthusiastic, energetic, and enterprising people....

[Galkin] Generally speaking, the role of the human factor has been considerable at all stages of the building and combat path of the Soviet Armed Forces. The attitude to the human factor and to men in general is a different matter. At this point it has changed most fundamentally, and this cannot fail to be reflected in people's work and their personal contribution to restructuring. Take our directorate, for example. In effect it is the staff of a whole sector in which a large number of problems connected with the development, testing, production, operation, and repair of various types of armored hardware are actually resolved. Much depends on how we work in the new conditions, particularly in the conditions of the economic reform, which fully affects the tank industry, too.

Of course, people's workloads are increasing, as is the degree of responsibility. Yet we, like everybody else, have set about streamlining the management apparatus. As a result, the productivity and efficiency of the work of Main Armored Directorate personnel should increase steadily. People understand this and are ready to do everything they can. But the conditions for that still have to be created. First it is necessary to remove the obstacles and reject what is outdated. It is important to promptly support and help those who raise questions of principle and are ready to resolve them without delay. [passage omitted]

[Pashayev] Comrade Lieutenant General, who trains specialist cadres to operate and service armored hardware among the troops and for the Main Directorate? Is it not the case, as one of our readers suggested, that this is done by poor commanders and chiefs of staff with no future ahead of them, so to speak?

[Galkin] No, of course not. All Main Armored Directorate personnel have higher military or higher military specialist education and adequate experience of service among the troops or military delegations at USSR Ministry of Defense industrial enterprises and repair plants. You cannot say that they are people with no future. Generally speaking, the selection of people in our field is as thorough as it can be. After all, it is not enough for the candidate to be, for example, an intelligent officer, a skilled engineer, or a good organizer. He must be a natural innovator, know how to think in the new way and on a large scale, and be distinguished by high military technical professionalism. As you can understand, the military academy alone is not enough here. So I would not say that we have no problems with cadres. There are problems. The principles of selection, which I spoke about earlier, have not always been observed, unfortunately. That is why those who do not cope with their increased tasks and are indifferent to their work now have to make way for others. But this isn't only true of our sphere....

As to the training of our specialists, they receive their initial military and military engineering training at higher tank command schools and engineering schools where training takes 4 and 5 years, respectively. Having gained military experience the most capable officers enter the command and engineering faculties of the Military Academy of Armored Troops named for Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovskiy.

[Pashayev] Recently there has been quite a lot of press criticism of the Armed Forces. Obviously, not all of that criticism is fair or objective. But one must agree in particular that the problem of inculcating a love of and respect for army service has somehow been neglected and that a considerable part of the blame for this is ours. In this connection does it not seem to you that the state of the exhibition of armored hardware which the Main Armored Directorate possesses and which has essentially become a "limited interest museum" is out of keeping with the times?

[Galkin] I must say that your information on our museum is not quite right. Yes, it is a unique exhibition of armored hardware, mainly tanks. It is the only one in

the world with such a large number of combat vehicles of different periods—around 300 examples. They are trying to create something similar now in Britain and the FRG. But it is not only specialists who make use of the exhibition. We see its main purpose primarily in popularizing armored hardware and in acquainting our contemporaries with the creations of design thinking in the world. At the same time we try to instill in those who visit the museum, primarily in young people, a sense of love of and respect for the Soviet tank building school, which is rightly recognized as one of the world's best and about which, to our shame, many people still know very little. [passage omitted]

Tankmen on Afghan Service, Current Problems
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[Colonel P. Studenikin article under the rubric "Today Is Tank Troops Day": "There, Beyond the Hindu Kush. They Fulfilled Their International Duty With Honor"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—These three tankmen twice greeted their holiday in Afghanistan: battalion commander Major Sergey Dyakov in Qandahar, company commander Captain Vladimir Ladanov in Pol-e Khomri, and regiment chief of staff Major Vyacheslav Zayarnyy in Kabul. There, beyond the Hindu Kush, all three had difficult work to do: "catching mines" ahead of combat columns on tanks together with combat engineers....

No, they did not happen to meet each other there. But the hot Afghan roads disfigured by mine and shell explosions undoubtedly brought them here, to the R.Ya. Malinovskiy Academy of Armored Troops in Moscow.

It would probably be possible to find many fine words to describe their unusual destinies as officers, but Maj S. Dyakov found simple, accurate words: "If you have chosen the military profession, you must be ready for everything...." [passage omitted]

They experienced a great deal: They sat in ambushes on caravan routes and were ambushed themselves. All three were hit by mines....

Our meeting took place in the academy, in the office of the course chief, which perhaps is why our conversation did not take off at first. Tongues were loosened when it came to light that we have many acquaintances in common from Afghanistan and that our paths have crossed repeatedly. It is like this with the "Afghans": You meet someone who has been there, and he is like a fellow countryman; and if you have happened to travel the same roads and sleep in the same billet, he is dearer than your own brother.

When Maj S. Dyakov, who had commanded a tank battalion in Qandahar, learned that I had just returned from there, he kept asking me distrustfully: "Did they really get out of Qandahar so successfully?" (three killed and six injured). And then, on being convinced that the journalists covering our troop withdrawal from Qandahar had not been false in their reports, he bombarded me with questions: "What happened to the garrison camp? How did they cope with 'Black Square' and the GSM [fuels and lubricants] point?..." He withdrew into himself on hearing: "The camp has been handed over to the Afghans, everything has been burned in the 'Black Square' region, and there is not a stone left standing of the GSM, as the saying goes."

Yes, everyone who has fought in Qandahar remembers certain places forever. Battalion commander Dyakov remembers the tiniest details of the day he had to attack a rebel base near Kashk-e Nokhowd with six tanks and no motorized riflemen to accompany him: Two tanks were soon blown up by mines, and four got through to the base but were forced to stop before a precipice and beat off attacks from two sides. By the end of the battle the tankmen did not have a single hand grenade, and the each gun had two shells left....

"And yet," the former battalion commander said, "a soldier soon forgets the danger experienced in combat, while wounds of another kind make themselves felt for a long time. It was with pain that we read the correspondence 'I Didn't Send You to Afghanistan' in PRAVDA, which carried a letter from A.N. Shevchenko—the father of Guards Sergeant Yuriy Shevchenko, who died in Afghanistan. It was bitter to learn that no one helped the father fence off the grave. Yuriy had served in our battalion, you know. And he died like a hero....

"When guys die before your eyes," he continued, "and people cannot fence off their grave at home, oh what a storm rises in your soul! I will tell you honestly, after 'Afghan' I began taking a quite different attitude toward soldiers. I am sure that a soldier of no other army is capable of going through what ours endure.... Yes, they deserve a different attitude. Much has now changed in this matter, but concern for the 'Afghans' is frequently of a fanfare nature—they are invited to a school and seated in the presidium. Be grateful, soldier. But that soldier has neither house nor home..."

People in our country have recently been both writing and saying a great deal about the attitude toward the "Afghan" soldiers transferred to the reserve. But what is the attitude toward "Afghan" officers who continue to serve in the Army?

Everything has turned out well for tank company commander Capt V. Ladanov: In Afghanistan he took on a tank platoon, then a company, and he returned to a company too....

"I was lucky, of course," the captain said.

He was lucky because officers go to Afghanistan as reliefs: If you were sent as a platoon commander, then, naturally, you will return as a platoon commander—who

would agree to a lower post? And it turns out that those who stayed here overtook in terms of service those who had to fight and who acquired rich experience. Of course this is unjust.

Captain V. Ladanov was, in general, very lucky, as he himself believes: On his first combat sortie there were two mine explosions—in the morning and in the evening. He got off with a slight contusion, by the way. The third time he was hit by a fougasse—precisely on Tank Troops Day—and again a slight leg wound. He switched to a different tank and... forward! He fulfilled the mission and ensured the withdrawal without loss of motorized riflemen caught in an ambush....

"I was given a very good welcome in the Far Eastern Military District regiment to which I was posted," the officer said. "I was given an apartment. You will not believe that I went into service as though to a festival. The company distinguished itself on an exercise, and here I am in the academy...."

One can only rejoice for Vladimir. Unfortunately, I know of cases of a different kind. PRAVDA has already written about the unusual, heroic fate of Leonid Khabarov. I will remind you briefly: After serious injury in Afghanistan and long ordeals in hospitals, he managed to graduate from the M.V. Frunze Academy, with difficulty got himself sent back to Afghanistan, underwent a trauma there, and... Some petty, mean creature wrote a letter to the defense minister supposedly on behalf of Leonid's wife and demanded that he be "charitable" toward the injured man and return him to his family. It took a great deal of effort to stay in the Army. He now serves as a military department chief in an institute, but he is a born combat soldier!

Colonel A. Plokhikh has been dreaming of a combat post for several years now. He was awarded the Order of Lenin in Afghanistan, but then had to accept a chair in a military school....

In Qandahar I met an old acquaintance—battalion chief of staff Captain N. Blaznin. I have known him since 1980—he was one of the first to enter Afghanistan. He spoke bitterly of his difficult "post-Afghan epic." He experienced all sorts of things—injustice, ill will. He accepted with relief his second posting to Afghanistan.... Now, too, the officer did not hide his fears: What sort of welcome would he be given now?

I note with satisfaction that recently appreciable changes have also been felt in this matter. Recently, for example, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, called the officers who have been to Afghanistan "the Army's golden fund." "We must treat them with care," he declared, "train them solicitously, and promote them to higher posts."

And now here was a call from N. Blaznin: "All is well. I have been appointed a battalion commander...." I would like to believe that everything will now be with him as it should be.

Afghanistan left many scars on Maj V. Zayarnyy's memory too: hard battles, men's deaths...

One incident was in a special category: They had been sent at the time to the border with Pakistan to cut off a large rebel gang. The skirmish was short but fierce: They lost 12 men killed.

"Combat is combat," the major said. "It is hard, very hard to lose combat friends, but over there white was white and black was black. There you knew very well where the enemy was and where your own men were. You were firmly confident that you would not be abandoned in misfortune, and if a life were required they would give it for you, just as you would throw yourself into bullets to help out your own men....

"I do not want to recall unpleasant things today, on the eve of the holiday," he continued, "but there were other cases too, when the unfairness of chiefs higher up left deep scars on the souls of subordinates. We had an excellent commander—Lieutenant Colonel Yadryshnikov, who was rightly and deservedly recommended for an Order of Lenin, but at that time there was among the soldiers a scoundrel who had sold the enemies a machinegun. The commander was deprived of his high award and dismissed from his post. For some reason it is not our custom to write about such things but, even though you can count such cases on your fingers, they must be spoken of. Because, by committing treason, that villain ruined the commander's destiny. And he himself can now return from captivity almost a hero...."

A complex question has been touched on. In the dispatch "Hard Road Home" PRAVDA recently wrote about one such person—Aleksandr Golovin, who also fled to the enemies with his weapon. How many angry responses to that article the editorial office received! But among the letters whose writers hold treason up to shame there is also this one from Omsk: "Describing Golovin's return home from captivity 7 years after being drafted, the author accuses the 19-year-old boy, who was captured, of being exchanged for weapons and mines which crippled our men. What is this? A return to Stalinist views on prisoners who have gotten into trouble? Whether you wish it or not, you are branding someone who was captured. After this the rest will think: Should they return to the motherland, where people will constantly remind them of a mistake they did not make? I.D. Yurchenko, V.I. Yefremova, P.I. Nesterova, Ye.A. Sorokina."

"What can you say about this?" I asked Maj V. Zayarnyy after familiarizing him with the letter.

"Of course, we must be both kind and solicitous toward those who found themselves captured through the will of misfortune. The tragedy of 1945 must not be repeated. But... to forgive deserters? No, that is impossible. Ask this of those who at a critical moment blew themselves up with their last grenade together with the enemies and who turned their breast toward a burst of submachine-gunfire destined for a comrade. How many such cases there have been...." [passage omitted]